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MUSIC IN ENGLAND

AND

MUSIC IN AMERICA.

BY

DR. FREDERIC LOUIS RITTER,

DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC AT VASSAR COLLEGE; AUTHOR OF "THE STUDENT'S HISTORY OF MUSIC," ETC.

VOL. I.—MUSIC IN ENGLAND.

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PREFACE.

WHEN I determined to write the history of musical development in the United States, I found, that in order to enable my readers to understand the peculiar beginnings and first growth of that development, an insight into the history of musical culture in England was desirable. I therefore concluded to introduce the history of music in America, by that of the immediately preceding period in England. Thus my two books, "Music in England" and "Music in America," complete each other logically.

My reasons for restricting my study of "Music in England," principally to the consideration of what regards the original, productive side of English music, are fully explained in the course of the work itself.

The idea laid down in the first chapter, "The English Ballad and the Gregorian Chant," etc., I claim as novel. The philosophical conclusions expressed therein seem to me of much importance regarding the development of musical art in England; and, whatever the art-historical merits of these views may be, I have never yet seen the subject treated from this point of view in any other musical work.

As the question of appropriate church-music is still warmly discussed by different members of the principal denominations,

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and especially by English and American clergymen,[1] I believe that an impartial historical exposition of the fundamental reasons that have led different churches to accept or reject this or that form of liturgical music, will be welcome to many readers, and may possibly contribute towards removing the unreasonable prejudices entertained by many church-members against music as an art: most of these prejudices are based on inherited traditional misunderstanding, or complete ignorance of the subject in question.

It has been my aim, in writing this work, to do justice to the English musical spirit as embodied both in the works of English original composers, and the natural musico-artistic aspirations of that people: the result of this endeavor I leave to the appreciation of my readers.

FRÉDÉRIC LOUIS RITTER.

SEPTEMBER, 1883.

[1] Last month, at a convention of Presbyterian ministers held at Pittsburg, Penn., musical practice, especially organ-playing in church, received a good deal of condemnation. "The organ must be put out of church, or else it will put us out," exclaimed one of those unmusical clergymen. Had I a voice in the matter, I would second the clergyman's proposition, and put both the organ and singing out of church, and await the results of the operation: I fully believe that after a little while organ and singing would be restored to their old places. (See "Psalmody" and chap. xi. of this work.)

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MUSIC IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE ENGLISH BALLAD AND THE GREGORIAN CHANT IN THEIR RELATION TO NATIONAL TASTE.

THE history of musical development in England is to the art student, both highly interesting and instructive. How are we to explain why a nation that has reached such pre-eminence in dramatic and lyrical poetry, has occupied rather a subordinate place in its original musical efforts, when compared with the labors of the Italians, the Germans, the French; and that in the form which is most closely related to the drama, — the opera, — English musicians never have gone farther than to imitate, with more or less ability and success, the works of Continental composers? Some Englishmen have been endowed with fine talent, even genius, for music. The English are fond of music, and spend large sums in the interest of operatic entertainments given by the first living artists; and the works of the first masters of instrumental music find a deserved recognition at the hands of English musical connoisseurs.

In the following pages I shall examine England's

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claim to the possession of a *school of music*, and state my views regarding the shortcomings of a national English musical development, compared with that of the above-mentioned nations.

"The English are not a musical people, and the English are not an artistic people. But the English are more artistic than musical; that is to say, they have produced better artists than musicians. A country is not musical or artistic when you can get its people to look at pictures, or listen to music, but when its people are themselves composers and artists. It cannot be affirmed that Englishmen are, or ever were, either one or the other. . . . Music in England has always been an exotic; and whenever the exotic seed has escaped, and grown wild on English soil, the result has not been a stable and continuous growth. The Reformation music was all Italian and French; the Restoration music, half French, half German. No one will deny that Tallis, Farrant, Byrd, in church-music; Morley, Ward, Wilbye, in the madrigal, — made a most original use of their materials: but the materials were foreign, for all that. At the Restoration, Pelham Humphreys, called by Pepys 'an absolute monsieur,' is as really French as Sir Sterndale Bennett is really German. Purcell, the Mozart of his time, was largely French; although he seemed to strike great tap-roots into the older Elizabethan period, just as Mendelssohn struck them deep into S. Bach. But all these men have one thing in common, — they were composers in England: they were not English composers. They did not write for the people: the people did not care for their music. The music of the people was ballads: the music of the people is still ballads. Our national music vibrates between 'When other lips,' and 'Champagne Charley.'"

The above passage is taken from the work of a modern English writer, Mr. Haweis's "Music and Morals." The author, a musical amateur of fine culture, has had ample opportunity to study the innate characteristic taste of his countrymen, and possesses, at the same time, enough independence of mind to give utterance

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to his opinions. Although the above-quoted passage may, in its general estimate of English musical aspiration, be on the whole correct, yet that part of it which refers to the fine composers of the Elizabethan period, however, when compared with the historical progress music has won in other countries, in order eventually to form national schools or characteristic styles, is somewhat unjust, and, considered from a philosophico-historical standpoint, drawn in too narrow a spirit.

History tells us that the French may claim the credit of having, if not absolutely invented, yet first greatly advanced, the art of harmonic construction, — counterpoint; that the Netherlanders, the Gallo-Belgians, however, were the first to make a more artistic use of the new material; that these became eventually the teachers of the Italians, and also influenced early German contrapuntists to an eminent degree. But the Italians, once masters of the arts of those Northern contrapuntists, became afterwards, in their turn, teachers and models for all Europe. All the important forms of modern musical art, both vocal and instrumental, took root in Italian soil; and some of these forms were carried, by means of Italian inventiveness and ingenuity, to a high degree of perfection. With regard to the mere outward material employed, Festa, Palestrina, Gabrieli, etc., as well as Tye, Tallis, and Byrd, may thus be counted among the Netherlanders. Though the material which was at the disposition of the composers of this epoch was in every country the same, the deeper spirit which enlivened this material, evincing the individual intensity of the respective composer's inner life as formed by an intimate connection with the people from whom he sprung, and whose aspirations

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in all their characteristics are consequently his own also, stamped the works of the different schools at this epoch with sufficiently distinct marks of nationality. The modern French and the Germans received at the hands of the Italians those forms which lay at the root of modern musical art development. *The* event which, more than any other, was the means of giving Italian musical cultivation such prominence all over Europe, was the invention of the musical drama, the opera. In France a desire was awakened to transplant the new form to the native stage; and the at first rather awkward imitation eventually became the foundation of the form of a national lyrical drama, constructed in accordance with the spirit of French dramatic art, and in harmony with French musical taste, as distinguished from that of the Italians. The material is Italian, but the form of the French opera is in many essential parts different from the Italian. In Germany the same course with regard to the different forms of instrumental music, as well as the musical drama, down to Richard Wagner, may be traced. But these nations, the French and the Germans, were in the course of time dissatisfied with slavishly copying their Italian models, no matter how effective these models may have proven for the time being: they changed, enlarged, curtailed, ventured to give a new mode of expression to this part, or condemned, from their æsthetic point of view, with critical fervor, such other parts as in the Italian art practice appeared to them illogical or untrue to nature. Thus they gradually transformed that which was at first a foreign material into one wholly in accordance with their own mode of feeling and expression; or the material, though seemingly often the same,

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was filled with contents entirely in harmony with their own peculiar mood and subjective emotional experience. Thus, while struggling to gain mastery over the material of the Italians, they discovered the individual powers of their own genius; and, once on the track of this great discovery, an innate national egotism and natural enthusiasm for art, and the necessary perseverance, gave them faith in their own powers and labors; and finally they were enabled to stamp the productions of their art aspirations with an individual national imprint.

Now let us study the historical progress of musical development in England, in order to enable us to judge whether that which its composers have accomplished in the higher walks of musical production was the result of a similar process of evolution, or mere imitation as suggested by the labors of other nations that have had a musical history.

Two fundamental elements enter into the musical cultivation of a nation,—the *sacred* and the *secular*.[1] Both may stand apart, each pursuing its way independently of the other; or they may borrow certain qualities from one another, and approach each other closely. Let us first consider the secular element.

The ancient inhabitants of the British Isles loved music; and many were the minstrels who cheered, by means of their songs and instrumental playing, the frequent festivities that took place under the roof of the princely palace, as well as under the tent on the battle-field. Many of these songs, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, have come down to us; and their great originality of

[1] Considered not from an abstract philosophical point of view, but rather from that of tradition or conventional growth.

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melody, and sweetness of expression, are recognized by every one who has any taste for the fresh, naïve, simple beauty which renders the songs of the people so attractive and touching, and which stamps them with everlasting youth. "The minstrels," says Percy, "were the successors of the ancient bards, who under different names were admired and revered, from the earliest ages, among the people of Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and the North, and indeed by almost all the first inhabitants of Europe, whether of Celtic or Gothic race, but by none more than by our own Teutonic ancestors, particularly by all Danish tribes. Among these they were distinguished by the name of *Scalds*, a word which denotes 'smoothers and polishers of language.' The origin of their art was attributed to Odin, or Wodin, — the father of their gods, — and the professors of it were held in the highest estimation. Their skill was considered something divine; their persons were considered sacred; their attendance was solicited by kings, and they were everywhere loaded with honors and rewards." The fact that the minstrels also were held in great reverence by the English people, the descendants of the Britons, Danes, and Saxons, goes to prove that poetry and song were highly enjoyed and esteemed in England. It is therefore very natural that the profession of minstrelsy found many disciples, and that many, out of idleness and from an inclination for vagabondism, entered the ranks of that profession. "This profession, which misery, libertinism, and the vagabond life of this sort of people have much decried, required, however, a multiplicity of attainments and of talents, which one would at this day have some difficulty to find re-united, and we have more reason to be astonished at them in

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those days of ignorance; for besides all the songs old and new, besides the current anecdotes, the tales, the *fabliaux*, which they piqued themselves on knowing, besides the romances of the time which it behooved them to know and to possess in part, they would declaim, sing, compose music, play on several instruments, and accompany themselves. Frequently even they were authors, and themselves made the poems they uttered.[1] The harp seems to have been the favorite instrument among the Anglo-Saxons, as well as the Britons and other Northern nations. By the laws of Wales, a harp was one of the three things that were necessary to constitute a gentleman or a freeman; and none could pretend to that character who did not possess one of these favorite instruments, or could not play on it. To prevent slaves from pretending to be gentlemen, it was expressly forbidden to teach or to permit them to play upon the harp; and none but the king, the king's musicians, and gentlemen, were allowed to have harps in their possession. A gentleman's harp was not liable to be seized for debt, because the want of it would have degraded him from his rank, and reduced him to that of a slave.[2] The minstrels, who continued to flourish until the sixteenth century, enjoyed, in the course of their existence, many privileges. They had a code of laws of their own, as well as an appropriate costume. Their favor with the kings and the nobles, their patrons, fluctuated according to the mood of these self-willed princes, or according to the temporary benefit their powerful patrons might have been able to gain from them. Under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an act was passed by which "min-

[1] See Chappell: Popular Music of the Olden Time, 1–3. [2] Chappell, 1–5.

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strels, wandering abroad," were considered as "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," and were liable to be punished as such. This act was no doubt instrumental in extinguishing the profession of minstrelsy, which had flourished during many centuries in England, and in the hands of which the cultivation of secular music lay almost entirely. There is no doubt that in England, during the reign of the minstrels, secular music, *ballads* and *dance-tunes*, were held in far greater estimation, and cultivated more universally, than sacred music, of which the *Gregorian chant* was the representative. The first was the music, *par excellence*, of the people: the other, hierarchical in character and practice, was the official music of the Church. Those ballads and dance-tunes bear no resemblance whatever to the Gregorian chants: their whole formal appearance, in a melodic and an harmonic sense, is widely different from that of the Gregorian melody. The minstrels, clever performers on the different instruments then in use, seemed to have invented their melodies in accordance with the mechanism of these instruments. Numerous passages appear where the intervals of different chords are given in a melodic succession,—the chords are broken. The tonalities which lie at the root of the ballads, the dance-tunes, are the modern major and minor keys. The ecclesiastical modes are ignored: the minstrels could not make use of them; they were too complicated in their construction to become accessible to the practice of the unsteady, ever-wandering minstrel, who invented his tunes on the road. He had no inclination, neither was he pedant enough, to grapple with the ponderous rules of the ecclesiastical keys. I will give here, as an interesting specimen of secular music, a

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dance-tune of this early epoch, not later than 1300. The tonality of the piece is our modern major key (it stands here in the key of F-major). It consists of three parts; each part has nine measures, that is, a phrase of four bars corresponding to a phrase of five bars. The piece was undoubtedly composed independently of vocal music: it is eminently suitable to an instrument. (Ex. I.)

Chaucer, in his works, never omits an opportunity of alluding to the general use of music in his time. The number of musical instruments which he has named is, considering this early epoch, a large one. There are the harp, psaltery, fiddle, bagpipe, flute, trumpet, rote, rebec, gittern, lute, organ, hautboy, horn, and shepherd's pipe. (See his Canterbury Tales.)

Thus we see that England, in its early historical times, was, with regard to its ballads and instrumental music, in advance of other European nations. But, strange to relate, the form of this music was in the course of the next centuries, and even up to our time, scarcely affected by the more artistic forms of the great musical development that commenced, towards the end of the fifteenth century, to make its power felt, not alone on the Continent, but in England also. The ballad and dance-tune complemented each other from the very start, and have since remained inseparable companions, ignoring all other art-influence from whatever source it might come. But the ballad entered the church, and, later, the opera-house, scarcely disguised by the sacred or dramatic meaning of the words, and, as we shall see, not to the advantage of sacred and dramatic forms.

The *ballad* — of slender melodious cut, a distinct, simple, often prosaic rhythm, of a sweet, naïve, and at

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times rather serious and sentimental expression, resting on the most simple harmonic basis, the tonic and dominant, sometimes on the mere outlines of harmonic accompaniment, careful never to interfere, by means of "too much music," with the clear and distinct enunciation of the words — remained true to its nature wherever it appeared. It never rose above the comprehension of the people: its meagre musical matter, often mere declamation, did not prevent the people from catching the meaning of the words. The art of the learned contrapuntist found no place there. The ballad-writer allowed only a highly transparent layer of musical matter to be used in connection with his verses, — generally one note for evey syllable. He never indulged in a free, swinging cantilena, the melodic expression of a rich musical imagination.

Now let us consider the sacred element of English musical culture.

The Christian apostles who, in the sixth century, went to the British Islands as missionaries and preachers of the new religion, founded churches and monasteries, and also established the peculiar form of the liturgy as adopted and practised by the leading Church of the Occidental Christians, — the Church of Rome. The Roman ecclesiastical music, the Gregorian chant, was thus early taught in different parts of the British Islands by monks who had studied its form and practice at Rome. Bede tells us, that, in 680, John, precentor of St. Peter's in Rome, was commissioned by Pope Agatho to instruct the monks of Weremouth in the art of singing, and particularly to acquaint them with the Roman manner of performing the festivals throughout the year. "And such was the

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reputation of his skill," says Bede, "that the masters of music from all the other monasteries of the North came to hear him, and prevailed on him to open schools for the teaching of music in other places of the kingdom of Northumberland." [1]

From the Saxon annals we learn, that in the reign of Egbert (800), music, as well as the other liberal arts, began to flourish in England. Organs were introduced in churches and monasteries in the year 981. The double organ in Winchester Cathedral had four hundred pipes, and required two organists. It was intended to be heard all over Winchester, in honor of St. Peter, to whom the cathedral was dedicated. The monks and the minstrels were thus the first teachers of music of the English people. It seems, however, safe to admit that these latter, with their ballads, exercised more influence on the people's musical taste than the former with their Gregorian chant. The minstrels belonged to the ranks of the people: they sung the joys, love, and woes of the people, before the Christian missionaries established monasteries and churches, — long before the "Kyrie Eleison" was heard in the sanctuaries of English cathedrals. The minstrels' melodies even seem to have early found their way to the Church. William of Malmesbury tells us, that when Thomas, the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury, who was very fond of music, and devoted much time to its study, heard any of the minstrels sing a tune which pleased him, he adopted it, and formed it for the use of the Church. This example given by Archbishop Thomas was imitated by others, and of course it could not fail to happen that minstrel tunes

[1] See Hawkins, History of Music, i. 371.

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corrupted and in many cases superseded the Gregorian chant.

Now, it is an historical fact that those nations, which, in the course of centuries of musical practice, have succeeded in establishing, in accordance with their own mood of feeling and expression, national schools of music, have based, though unconsciously, the cultivation of this art on the pre-eminent practice of the Gregorian chant, invented and formed according to the rules of Greek musical theory. This practice is not to be attributed to a premeditated choice, but rather to a habit acquired through the Church; for during the middle ages the Church was the supreme source from which the people of the Continent received all the food of intellectual life. The secular element, the people's-song, also enters, though sparingly, and then rather as a bridge in order to smooth the path between the people's own naïve emotions, and the more rigorously religious element as represented by the Gregorian chant. It happened even that this latter, in the mouth of the people, often had to sacrifice many of its stern and orthodox versions, to re-appear afterwards as people's-songs. Thus Le Bœuf in his "Traité Historique et Pratique sur le Chant Ecclésiastique,"[1] gives several chants as sung in some French cathedrals, which are no doubt variations and transformations of old Gregorian chants, and which in their present appearance have more resemblance to secular airs. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, in his "Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes,"[2] also gives many interesting historical facts as to the manner by which the German people changed, in order to suit their own understanding, many portions

[1] Chap. vii. [2] p. 9.

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of the Gregorian melodies, especially the "Kyrie Eleison."[1] We thus perceive a continual interchange of the strictly religious and strictly secular elements. The former often lent some of its nobler impulses to the other; while the latter, by infusing some of its naïve charms into the other, made it in many cases more accessible to the simple minds of the people. This irresistible desire on the part of the people to change the strictly orthodox forms of the sacred melodies and chants, in order to suit its own means and powers of singing, received again and again the rebuke of the ecclesiastical authorities. In many cases these latter were, however, not strong enough to build a wall of sufficient tenacity to protect the sacred chant in its intended purity: they were often forced to a compromise, — adapting the people's version, even some of its secular melodies, to sacred words. Thus the people's natural desire and inclination to change, to transform, or to create, found an outlet, as well as a noble basis to build upon; and the impulse for musical inventiveness, serving as a vehicle for emotional expression, was excited and fostered to an eminent degree. And thus it came to pass that those nations — the Italians, the French, the Germans — who were greatly active in this respect, are enabled to boast to-day of a national school of music sprung from the same fructifying root, the Gregorian melody, but each one branching out according to the peculiar soil that has given it nourishment, and the atmosphere that gave it breathing-room.

The amalgamation of the two musical elements, the sacred and the secular, does not seem to have taken

[1] See also chapter on Church Music.

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place to such a degree in the early part of musical practice in England. Whatever the cause may have been, an insurmountable wall seems to have existed between the Gregorian chant and the people's music. As far as the musical documents which are at my disposal show, there is very little resemblance to be found between the form and tonalities of the original Gregorian melody, and the minstrel's, or people's, melody. Many of the Irish people's-songs, however, are based upon the Gregorian tonalities. Mr. Chappell,[1] in order to answer the question, "what kind of music the old English ballads were," thinks we may be able to discover their form and character in old hymns to Latin words, some of which have more "tune" in them than would be expected, and that they are our earliest existing means of forming a judgment. "It was not mere natural song with indefinable sounds, but with regulated notes upon the diatonic scales." And in another place our author is still more emphatic in his assertion that the real source of English national music is not the Gregorian chant. Stafford Smith[2] asserts that English early melodies, including those of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, are no doubt derived from the minstrels; and that they have sprung from the minstrels' practice of descanting, or singing extempore, on the plain-song of the Church. In opposition to this view, Chappell thinks that "our old fiddlers and pipers certainly took simple grounds or bases, but I doubt very much that they were derived from the Church. There may be *accidental* resemblances between their plain-song or ground, and the plain-song of the Church; but the feelings so naturally revolt against

[1] Popular Music of the Olden Time. [2] Introduction to Musica Antiqua.

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taking sacred music, and applying it to secular purposes, that I have been unable to trace *a single instance of a popular air derived from such a source.* . . . If any of the ancient church hymns should be found to resemble secular music, it is, in all probability, because they were originally secular tunes; for we can trace the clerical practice of writing hymns to airs sung by minstrels, in every century from the time of William the Conqueror to the Reformation, and the system has continued to our present time, not only in England, but also abroad. The minstrels were far in advance of church-music, and no melody was to be obtained at that source." Fétis asserts that even long after the Conquest, on great festivals, minstrels were employed as church-singers. It is true, minstrels were engaged in the halls of monasteries; but I doubt whether they were allowed, even if able, to sing in church during holy office. That the clergy, like the minstrels, made use of ballads for instruction, as well as political purposes, is proved by the following fact. Aldhelm, the Saxon bishop of Sherborne, in order to secure the attention of his rude neighbors, was wont to stand on a bridge, and to sing his religious instructions to them in the form of ballads. Among the devices at the coronation banquet of Henry VI. (1420) were, in the first course, a subtlety of St. Edward and St. Louis, in coat armor, holding between them a figure like Henry, similarly armed, and standing with *a ballad under his feet;* in the second, a device of the Emperor Sigismond and King Henry V., arrayed in mantles of Garter, and a figure like Henry VI. kneeling before them with a *ballad* against the Lollards; and, in the third, one of Our Lady, sitting with her Child in her

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lap, and holding a crown in her hand, St. George and St. Denis kneeling on either side, presenting to her King Henry *with a ballad in his hand.*[1] These subtleties were probably devised by the clergy. In France, in Italy, in Germany, the mottoes for such an occasion surely would have been selected from the sacred song-book, — the Gregorian melodies.

Most of the early Italian, French, and German people's-songs are undoubtedly formed under the influence of the Gregorian melodies, the sentences, the hymns. The early French and Flemish contrapuntists were attracted towards these melodies, and apparently found little trouble in adapting them as *cantus firmus*, or themes for their ingeniously constructed masses. Tonality, melodic form, which lay at the root of these secular songs, were naturally related to the ecclesiastical modes which governed the Gregorian. Even the first English contrapuntists selected Italian or French *chansons* for their contrapuntal constructions.[2] The songs of the English minstrels, in a great measure suggested by, and formed according to, the prevalent use of instrumental music, so diligently cultivated in the British Islands, would have proved unmanageable, being in form and character diametrically opposed to the ecclesiastical modes and construction. Therefore, as far as I am able to judge, the peculiar art-practice of the Gallo-Belgian contrapuntists seems not to have been much cultivated by their English colleagues. It is true, the practice of writing church-music on themes of the Gregorian chant was familiar to the early English contrapuntists; even melodies resembling secular

[1] Chappell: Popular Music of the Olden Times, i. 40.
[2] See Dunstable's Rosa Bella. (Ex. III.)

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tunes appear as tenor: but these melodies seem to be of French origin, English musicians having received the practice from their French neighbors. The original English people's-song and the Gregorian chant run along side by side, like two distinct streams whose waters never mingle. To this circumstance, no doubt, must be attributed the comparatively small part English musicians took, during the Reformation, in the creating of new hymn-tunes, based upon Gregorian melodies, as Luther and his musical advisers have done. The English hymn-tune writers, when left to their own resources, sailed with full sails into the ballad-tunes, and threw the Gregorian melodies, as an unmanageable ballast, overboard, and with them all that grandeur, solemnity, nobleness of form, and eminently sacred expression, which are unmistakably characteristic marks of the original Gregorian chants, as well as of those sacred Protestant melodies derived from them. When Marbeck arranged the chants to the Common Prayer-Book, he reduced the old Gregorian melodies to their simplest musical expression; all melodic flourishes were cut off, so that nothing should remain but pure musical declamation. He almost brought them to a level with the form of the ballad. Of those many notes sung to one syllable, which occur at the close of some Gregorian chants, and which were called "jubilees," St. Augustine says "their object is to paint the fervor of affections, the glow of the heart, excessive joy, inner cheerfulness, emotional qualities which words cannot express." The purely Gregorian melody has apparently been regarded by the English people as a foreign element, only tolerated as the prerogative of the Latin liturgy: it never struck deep roots in English

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soil. During that important epoch of the Elizabethan time, when English church-music reached so high a standard, the secular song (the madrigal) was decidedly the favorite form of the composer. The church compositions often have the appearance of having been written as a mere religious duty: the madrigals sound as if written under the natural impulse of joyful, happy feeling. Those impart a certain impression of restraint: these flow naturally, like the song of the bird. The ballad with its natural charms influenced it, and helped to smooth the often awkward corners of the ecclesiastical keys, still more awkward when coupled with the light-footed English madrigal. Many of these madrigals endeavor to emancipate themselves from the burdensome rules of the ecclesiastical modes: our modern tonalities, tonic, and dominant, peep through many bars. The madrigal thus often sails under false colors, having all the characteristics of the modern part-song.

This keeping-asunder of the two musical factors — the sacred, as originally represented by the Gregorian chant, and the secular as represented by the ballad — is, according to my opinion, of great importance with regard to the study of English musical history. May we not attribute to this continual estrangement of the above two fundamental musical elements, that unsteadiness, that hesitation, prevalent in the course of English musical development, as compared with that of their Continental neighbors? Even in our day the disciples of English church-music are divided into two camps: one side strongly advocates the adoption of the Gregorian chants; the other, with just as much determination, rejects them as contrary to English musical taste. In this respect, English musical taste, a reflection of

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the emotional life of the people, has proved as conservative as the people themselves. The ballad, the only original musical creation belonging to the English, seldom grows different, never changes much. It has originated no higher forms, but has often had a deteriorating influence on the cultivation of the borrowed forms.

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CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY ENGLISH CONTRAPUNTISTS.

LET us now study more closely the artistic labors of the English professional composers.

England took an early part in the discovery, practice, and perfection of harmony; for music, as a science, found encouragement in Britain at an early epoch. King Alfred the Great founded, in 886, a professorship at Oxford for the cultivation of musical science. Numerous are the treatises written by early English writers on the science of harmony and other matters having relation to musical practice. I will name some of these writers of musical tracts: W. Odington, Robert de Handlo. These tracts prove that English literary men were wide awake with regard to musical practice and theory. The well-known canon, — "rota" as it is called, — "Sumer is a cumen in," written about 1223, and one of the oldest documents of secular music in contrapuntal form, is a proof that at this early epoch harmonic art must have made great progress in England.[1] This "rota," considered from a purely musical point of view, is one of the most remarkable compositions of this epoch. The melody, in the form of a ballad, is pleasing and easily flowing; the harmony full, and at times sounding very effective; the consecutive fifths

[1] See Burney: General History of Music, ii. 407.

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which occur in the course of the canon were, at that time, not yet prohibited. The form of the canon, "Sumer is a cumen in," seems to justify what Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1185, said of the manner of singing of the old Britons: "In the northern parts of Britain, beyond the Humber and on the borders of Yorkshire, the people there inhabiting make use of a kind of symphonic harmony in singing, but with only two differences or varieties of tones or voices. In this kind of modulation, one person sings the under part in a low voice, while another sings the upper in a voice equally soft and pleasing. This they do, not so much by art as by a habit, which long practice has rendered almost natural; and this method of singing is become so prevalent amongst these people, that hardly any melody is accustomed to be uttered simply, or otherwise than variously, or in this twofold manner.[1] It is possible that this popular manner of singing in two parts exercised some influence on the contrapuntal practice of those monks who presided over the musical service in the Church; the art of counterpoint resting then almost exclusively in the hands of the monks.

That excellent musical historian, the late Coussemaker, has established the fact, that the invention of the art of sounding one or two additional parts to a given melody, be it a Gregorian chant or a secular melody, must be attributed to the French. The Netherlanders received this practice from their French neighbors, and brought it to a high perfection. Whether the early English musicians came in contact with the rising school of the Gallo-Belgians, history fails to tell us; but is it not admissible that the French practice of

[1] Hawkins's H. of M., vol. i. p. 408.

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descant, as well as the peculiar manner of writing an additional part to a given melody, became prevalent in England as derived from French monks, and especially since the invasion and conquest of Britain by the Normans under William the Conqueror, 1062? Warton, in his "History of English Poetry," says, —

"England at length, in the beginning of the eleventh century, received from the Normans the rudiments of that civilization which it has preserved to the present time. The Normans were a people who had acquired ideas of splendor and refinement from their residence in France; and the gallantries of their feudal system introduced new magnificence and elegance among our rough, unpolished ancestors. The Conqueror's army was composed of the flower of the Norman nobility, who, sharing allotments of land in different parts of the new territory, diffused a general knowledge of various improvements entirely unknown in the most flourishing eras of the Saxon government, and gave a more refined turn to the manners, even, of the provincial inhabitants. That they brought with them the arts, may yet be seen by the castles and churches which they built on a more extensive and stately plan. Literature, which had been reduced to the most abject conditions, appeared with new lustre, in consequence of this important revolution."

But even long before the Conquest, the Crench language and French manners were esteemed among the Anglo-Saxons as the most polite accomplishments. That musical cultivation as practised in France, and especially the French manner of descant, thus found its way to Britain, can be accepted as a certain fact.

The tract by an English writer of the thirteenth century, lately republished by Coussemaker,[1] gives important imformation with regard to the oldest French contrapuntists, and says, "There lived good singers in England, and they sung sweetly; such as masters Jo-

[1] L'Art harmonique au XII. et XIII. Siècles.

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hannes Filius Dei, Maklebit of Winchester, and Blakesmit at the court of Henry II." John Farnset, a monk of Reading, who is said to have composed the above-mentioned canon, "Sumer is a cumen in," belongs to the same epoch.[1] There is no doubt that a lively interchange of thought existed between those old French and English contrapuntists. The Netherlanders, however, eventually gained the supremacy in musical matters; and in comparing the progress of musical development in England with that of the Netherlanders, the assertion that these latter by far surpassed the English is proved by a document of English composition, the song on the battle of Agincourt, 1415. This piece is even far inferior, in contrapuntal treatment and melodic charm, to the canon "Sumer is a cumen in:" it is coarse and awkward. Recent discoveries made by G. Morelot, of manuscript compositions by English musicians who wrote at the beginning of the fifteenth century, convey a more favorable idea of English musical *savoir-faire;* and Dunstable seems to have occupied the first place among these. The celebrated musical theorist Tinctoris, who lived in Naples about 1476, and was the author of the first musical dictionary, had so high an opinion of Dunstable, that he even attributed to him the important discovery of counterpoint. This, however, was not the case. Morelot transcribed one of Dunstable's compositions ("O Rosa Bella"): this piece gives proof that English musicians were able to do far better than such crude harmonization as the song of "Agincourt" shows. (Ex. II. and III.)

Towards the latter part of the fifteenth century and on to the middle of the sixteenth, considerable progress may be perceived in the handling of counterpoint:

[1] See Chappell, 1–21.

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and the compositions of those English masters who lived at this epoch — such as Fairfax, Dygon, Shepard, Thorne, and others — give evidence of more melodic freedom in the treatment of the different parts; the harmonic material is also handled with more facility. These English masters show themselves well acquainted with the subtle laws of the canon, the ecclesiastical modes, and other points of musical science as then taught and cultivated on the Continent. But, whatever the merits of those early English composers may be, their Netherlandish contemporaries present superior qualities in many respects: their mastery of the intricate arts of counterpoint was greater, the different parts of harmonic construction flowed more easily, and they have here and there attained a charm of expression yet missed in the efforts of the English masters of this epoch.

The work so well achieved by the above-mentioned English musicians bore its good fruits; and, whatever shortcomings their efforts still presented, they laid a solid foundation upon which an art cultivation, yet undisturbed by hindering outward causes, found an ample and convenient field for higher development. Indeed, the middle of the sixteenth century presents at once as respectable an array of fine composers, familiar with all the musical forms both sacred and secular, as then existed, — one capable of taking a distinguished rank among the masters of other European nations; while at the same time to them belonged the honor of having given their country a school of music in many respects as original as it was profound, and, considered in all its importance, the most remarkable effort in musical art which the English nation can boast of. It was, however,

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a happy circumstance in the interest of the successful development of this school of musical art, that Henry VIII. and his children loved and personally cultivated music. We know that during all this epoch the arts, and especially music, found their patrons at the courts of princes, and in the sanctuaries of cathedrals and monasteries. When discouraged at these high places, the arts lived a miserable existence, or sunk into insignificance. With less appreciation of noble music, and less firmness of character to defend its interests, Henry VIII. and his children would have been induced to banish music altogether from every cathedral as well as from the court, as those gloomy, hot-headed, and — with regard to the arts — intolerant Puritans endeavored to do. The work so well begun by the above-mentioned English composers, and now so full of promise, would thus have been smothered and undone; and the unfortunate state of musical affairs existing during the Revolution and Restoration would have commenced a century earlier, and all that England could have had to exhibit to-day, of its past musical culture, would have been but the remains and fragments of a highly promising beginning. Comparatively little enough is left of the works of the masters before the Reformation; and Hawkins justly complains "that the general havoc and devastation, the dispersion of books and manuscripts, which followed the dissolution of monasteries, and the little care taken to preserve that which it was foreseen would shortly become of no use, will account for the difficulty of recovering any compositions of singular excellence previous to the time of the Reformation." Considering the hatred the Puritans entertained against music,

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it is astonishing that so many works of the glorious epoch of the Elizabethan time have escaped annihilation.

All the accounts relating to Henry VIII.'s early life accord in describing him as gifted and adorned with mental accomplishments of all sorts; and his love for music, as well as his efficiency as a performer on different instruments, are especially remarked upon. Several of Henry's compositions still exist. One for three voices, "Quam pulchra," gives proof of the king's knowledge of the rules of counterpoint; but it possesses no special excellence with regard to inventiveness, form, or expression. The charming anthem in Boyce's collection, "O Lord, the Maker of all things," attributed to King Henry's pen, is the work of W. Mundy. That an art so diligently cultivated and honored by the king and the court must have been held in great repute, and practised successfully by many people in England, is to be accepted as a natural consequence: indeed, frequent is the testimony given by foreigners who visited England during this time, in regard to the fine musical taste and accomplishments of the English. The renowned Erasmus among others, speaking of them, said "They challenge the prerogative of having the most handsome women, of keeping the best table, and being most accomplished in the skill of music, of any people." The English cathedral-service, as first established by Henry VIII., — remodelled, ~~of course~~, on the basis of the Roman-Catholic liturgy, and eventually fixed in more permanent order under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, — called forth, with regard to its musical arrangement, a practice ~~eminently~~ English in its character, and, at the same time, musical art-

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forms, which, when compared with those of other nations, have just claims to be considered national. These art-forms possess a decidedly individual and original stamp.

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CHAPTER III.

THE COMPOSERS OF THE ELIZABETHAN EPOCH.

THE English church composers who made their mark under the reign of Henry VIII. and his immediate successors, and who had grown up under the influence of the traditions and art practice of the Roman Church, entered their new field well prepared: their past experience eminently fitted them to put into execution the new ideas required by those changes the English Church saw fit to introduce into its choral service. We know that the liturgical arrangement of the Catholic service was very advantageous to the higher development of music; and after it enjoyed the privilege of being intimately associated with those religious exercises and symbols of the Church, as called forth by Christian faith, it deepened its ideal contents, and in the course of centuries was enabled to create, as vehicle for these contents, new art-forms unknown to the old civilized nations, — the Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans. The English Church (Episcopal) preserved in its service more of the features of the Catholic liturgy than any other Protestant church: English organists consequently found ample opportunities to satisfy their aspirations as composers of sacred music. I shall speak of this liturgical arrangement in another chapter, and shall restrict myself here

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to mentioning the most famous of those masters who first endowed the English cathedral-service with works worthy of the high object they were written for. But they did not compose only for the Church: they also wrote many charming, highly original madrigals as well as instrumental pieces, these two secular musical styles being then greatly cultivated in Old England.

Dr. Christopher Tye may be regarded as the first really fine English composer: I shall therefore let him open that important epoch of English musical art. Dr. Tye, born at Westminster and brought up in the Chapel Royal, was the preceptor of Prince Edward, and probably of the other children of King Henry VIII. In the year 1545 he was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Music in Cambridge; in 1548, was appointed a member of the University of Oxford. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth he was organist of the Chapel Royal. Dr. Tye, like all the English musicians who lived at this epoch when Catholics and Reformers struggled for supremacy in State and Church, had to set music to Latin words for Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, and to English versions for Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. Tye was a man of considerable literary acquirements. He undertook to render into English verse the whole Acts of the Apostles, with a view of setting them afterwards to music. The first fourteen chapters were printed in 1553. Though occasionally sung in the Chapel Royal of Edward VI., the undertaking did not prove very successful: Dr. Tye therefore concluded not to proceed any farther in a task that did not promise to answer his expectations. "Dr. Tye," says an old English author, "was a peevish and humoursome man, especially in his latter days; and sometimes

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playing on the organ in the chapel of Queen Elizabeth, which contained much music, but little delight to the ear, she would send the verger to tell him that he played out of tune, whereupon he would send word that her Majesty's ears were out of tune." Dr. Tye's church compositions are, with regard to harmonic (contrapuntal) treatment, estimable works, and are, though somewhat dry, conceived in a truly sacred spirit: they are good specimens of this English school of music. The next master to be mentioned is —

John Marbeck (Merbecke), born about 1523. He was a contrapuntist of no mean order, and stands in the same relation to the musical portion of the service of the English Church, as John Walter, the friend of Luther, stands with regard to that of the German Lutheran Church. In 1531 he became a chorister, and some time afterwards organist, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor; and spent his early life in the practice of the organ, upon which instrument he is said to have possessed great skill. Having secretly favored the Reformation, he, with some others, was apprehended, put on trial, and condemned to be burnt. Marbeck was a man of mild disposition; and having behaved in an upright, outspoken manner during his trial, he obtained the king's pardon, through the intervention of Sir Humphrey Foster, who probably respected him also on account of his great musical abilities. Having thus escaped martyrdom, Marbeck devoted himself chiefly to his musical profession. In 1550 he published the "Booke of Common Prayer," of which I shall speak in another place. Of his elaborate church compositions, few are known now; yet, judging from specimens Hawkins and Burney give of Marbeck's works, he deserves an honorable place among his able contemporaries.

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Thomas Tallis was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary, and organist under Queen Elizabeth. Tallis, as a composer, occupies an exalted rank among the celebrated English masters of this epoch, and as a learned contrapuntist compares favorably with his great neighbors the Netherlanders. The style, form, and harmonic treatment of his church compositions are, of course, those universally adhered to by the contrapuntists of this time. The voice parts of his motets and anthems flow with great melodic freedom: the harmonies are pure, and used in an effective manner. The general sentiment, as called forth by the words he set to music, is often given with happy effects, while the formal treatment of his motets evinces much originality. Some of Tallis's finest efforts are to be found in the "Cantiones Sacræ," a collection of motets and hymns which he published in 1575, jointly with his distinguished pupil Byrd. Burney, who inserted two of these compositions by Tallis in his History of Music, took occasion to say, "If foreigners should ever deign to look into my book, it is my wish, for the honor of our nation, they should see, that, long before the works and reputation of Palestrina had circulated throughout Europe, we had choral music of our own, which for gravity of style, purity of harmony, ingenuity of design, and clear and masterly contexture, was equal to the best productions of that truly venerable master." Burney's patriotism carried him here a little too far. In the first place, he entirely overlooked the great school of the Netherlanders, celebrated some time before Palestrina wrote; and then, the skill and talent of Tallis granted, the inner expression and beauty which give life to the works of the Italian com-

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poser by far surpass the compositions of the Englishman. In Palestrina's works we find the "*je ne sais quoi*" so abundant that Tallis's best efforts sound, when compared with Palestrina's, somewhat monotonous and cold. Burney was severe on Orlandus Lassus, when he had occasion to compare his works with those of Palestrina;[1] and yet Lassus is much deeper and richer than Tallis. This worthy English composer has his own great merits, he can afford to stand on these; but do not place him in a false position by such a dangerous comparison as that attempted by Burney. English writers on music, ancient and modern, are, however, very fond of the phrase, when speaking of the works of English composers, "equal to the best of the composers of the Continent," and similar expressions. Why not judge the art-productions of their countrymen from an independent point of view? English art has its own right, or *raison d'être:* why should Englishmen discard their own ideal with regard to music, and find it necessary to compare the works of their composers with those of the favorite foreign masters, in order to procure recognition for them? To say, "equal to the best of the Italian or the German composers," gives one the impression that the writer has doubts in his own mind with regard to the merits of his countryman; and, in his efforts to strengthen himself in his opinion, he often insults his *protégé.* This appeal to the foreigner does not in the least dispose the latter to recognize the works of English composers. Judge the English composer from an English standpoint, whether it accords with the Italian, the German or French, or not. The English are a nation by themselves: let them have an

[1] Burney, H. of M., iii. 314.

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art of their own — but founded on original principles of expression and beauty, and not on imitation merely.

The great service Marbeck rendered to the English Church by means of his arrangement of the plain-song for the use of the Common Prayer-Book has been mentioned in another place. Tallis's merit, with regard to the choral service of English cathedral-music, is not less important; for it was he who first set music to the English words of the several parts of the liturgy which were accepted to be used during church-service, not in simple plain-song as Marbeck did, but in rich harmonic construction, to be sung by a well-schooled chorus. Tallis based his treatment of the service on the old melodies of the Gregorian chant. He, besides church vocal music, wrote pieces for the organ and the virginals; and, like the ingenious Netherlanders, he left specimens of mere contrapuntal combinations, the general trait of the composers of this epoch. Burney gives a lengthy description of a song for forty parts by Tallis; who, in this instance, gave proof of being a good mathematician, but a bad poet. Tallis died in 1585.

One of the most famous masters of this epoch of English musical development was *William Bird* (Byrd), probably born about 1538. He was the son of a musician, and a pupil of Tallis. In 1563 he was chosen organist of the cathedral of Lincoln, succeeding the composer Robert Parsons, who was accidentally drowned at Newark-upon-Trent. It appears, according to the title of "Cantiones Sacræ," which Bird and Tallis published in 1575, that both artists were not only gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, but organists to Queen Elizabeth. Bird died in 1623, universally honored and

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respected. Bird, as a contrapuntist, was unsurpassed by any other composer of his time. His sacred compositions are written in a pure and elegant style, imbued at the same time with a noble expression. He possessed such mastery over the forms cultivated at his time, that the most complicated ones flowed with the greatest ease and freedom from his pen. Having been one of the greatest organists, and performers on the virginals, then living, he naturally composed numerous works for the virginals as well as for the organ, such as fugues, fancies, pavanes, gaillards, and variations on popular songs. These compositions are, on the whole, rather dry exercises: a few, however, aside from their historical interest, still possess some charm; and several of them, such as the "Carman's Whistle," have been revived on the programmes of modern pianists. Bird, in these instrumental pieces, often broke through the rather narrow limits of the old ecclesiastical modes. The modern tonalities, the major and the minor modes, are used in many places with certainty and good effect: this is probably due to the character of the secular ballads, which ignored the old modes. The variations, "The Carman's Whistle," give proof of great ingenuity in the treatment of the theme, in their harmonization which may be pronounced almost modern, in the running passages which contrast with the theme very effectively. The fine canon "Non nobis Domine," which has become a great favorite with English glee-clubs, seems to have been composed by Bird, though his authorship was for a time disputed. Bird composed masses, motets, psalms, sacred and secular songs, for three and more voices, besides many instrumental pieces as mentioned above.

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Bird was held in great reverence by his English contemporaries, partly for his excellence as a composer, partly for his refined taste and gentle disposition. "Of Bird's moral character and natural disposition," justly says Burney, "there can, perhaps, be no testimony more favorable, or less subject to suspicion, than those of rival professors, with whom he appears to have lived during a long life with cordiality and friendship. And of the goodness of his heart, it is to me no trivial proof, that he loved and was beloved by his master Tallis, and his scholar Morley; who from their intimate connection with him must have seen him in *robe de chambre*, and been spectators of all the operations of temper, in the opposite situations of subjection and dominion."

To the preface of one of his sets of "Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs, etc.," the reasons are given, in a very interesting and characteristic style, why every one should learn to sing:—

"1st, It is a knowledge easely taught, and quikly learned where there is a good master and an apt scholar.

"2d, The exercise of singing is delightful to Nature and good to preserve the health of man.

"3d, It doth strengthen all parts of the breast and doth open the pipes.

"4th, It is a singular good remedie for a stuttering and a stammering in the speech.

"5th, It is the best means to procure a perfect pronunciation, and to make a good orator.

"6th, It is the only way to know where Nature has bestowed a good voice; which gift is so rare as there is not one among a thousand that hath it; and in many that excellent gift is lost, because they want art to express nature.

"7th, There is not any musike of instruments whatever comparable to that which is made of the voyces of men; where the voyces are good, and the same well sorted and ordered.

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"8th, The better the voyce is, the meeter it is to honour and serve God therewith; and the voyce of man is chiefly to be employed to that ende."

"*Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum.*
Since singing is so good a thing,
I wish all men would learn to sing."

Bird's distinguished pupil, *Thomas Morley*, born in 1563, was a prolific composer, and an eminent writer on musical theory. In 1588 he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Music, and became connected with the Chapel Royal in 1592. He seems to have died in 1604. Morley composed some church-music, and much secular music, in the form then popular with English as well as Continental composers. His madrigals, ballets, canzonets, must have been liked much by music-lovers: some of these were even published in Germany with German words. Of his church-music, the Burial Service, as published in Boyce's Collection of Church Music, seems to be the only piece now in use. This Burial Service was the first in this form composed to English words. He also wrote pieces for the virginals and the lute.

Morley was a clever and polished harmonist; and though much influenced in his style of composing by his master, the celebrated Bird, he yet knew how to value the works of the Italians, and studied them diligently. Burney and Hawkins do not credit him with much originality of inventiveness; but if we compare his charming madrigals, ballets, and canzonets with those of his contemporaries, he is well able, with regard to melodic flow, effective disposition of *motivi*, and artistic treatment of contrapuntal means, to hold his own ground advantageously.

Morley's work, "A Plaine and Easie Introduction to

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Practical Music," published in London in 1597, was justly popular at his time. It is divided into three parts: the first teaching to sing; the second treating of descant; and the third, of composing or setting of songs. The book is in every way an interesting one: the style is quaint and characteristic. Judging by the preface, Morley must have had some enemies among his colleagues; and here is the way in which he meets those who might possibly not agree with his rules and manner of teaching. After having explained his reasons for writing the book, he says, —

"But seeing in these latter daies, and doting age of the world, there is nothing more subject to calomnie and backbiting than that which is most true and right; and that as there will be many who will enter into the reading of my book for their instruction: so, I doubt not but diverse also will reade it not so much for any pleasure or profit they looke for in it, as to find something whereat to repine or take occasion to backbiting; such men I warn, that if in friendship they will (either publikely or privately) make me acquainted with anything in the booke which either they like not or understand; I will only be content to give them a reason (and if I cannot, to turn to their opinion), but also think myself highly beholden to them. But if any man, either upon malice, or for ostentation of his own knowledge or ignorance (as who is more bold than blind Bayard?) do either in huggermugger or openly calumnie that which he either understandeth not, or then maliciously wresteth to his own sense, he shall find that I have a tongue also and that he snarleth at one who will bite again, because I have said nothing without reason, at least, confirmed by the authorities of the best both scholars and practitioners."

I have only space to mention briefly a few of the principal contemporaries of the above masters: such as *Robert White* and *Richard Farrant*, both fine composers of church-music; *Dr. John Bull* (1563–1628), a

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renowned performer on the organ and the virginals, for which instruments he composed many pieces (he also wrote works for the church-service. It seems that Dr. Bull was looked upon by many of his contemporaries as a musical wonder. His instrumental pieces, apart from their historical interest, are of little artistic value now: they are full of dry, meaningless passages); *Elway Bevin*, a skilful harmonist and an estimable writer of church-music (Bevin is the author of "A Briefe and Short Introduction to the Art of Musicke," published in 1613. The book taught the rules for the construction of all kinds of canon, and was held in great esteem by musicians); *John Dowland* (1562–1615), a famous performer on the lute, and composer of many charming madrigals and part-songs (Dowland visited the principal cities of the Continent as a *virtuoso* lutenist, and performed with great applause before kings and princes. Dowland was in every sense a great favorite. He also harmonized several church-tunes for Este's and Ravenscroft's editionslof Psalters). Among these may be counted the sweet singers of the many elegant, charming madrigals this English school can boast of: *John Bennet, John Wilbey, Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Bateson, John Farmer, Ward, Ford, Mundy, Milton* the father of the great poet, and *Orlando Gibbons* (1583–1625), distinguished by his church compositions, as well as by his secular works, both vocal and instrumental. Gibbons, if not the greatest of English composers of all this epoch, may certainly be regarded as equal to the best of them. His works are distinguished by elegant melodic design, richness and purity of harmony, great original inventiveness, and a clear, masterly treatment of contrapuntal forms. Though Gibbons still roots in the art-practice

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of Tallis and Bird, yet many parts of his harmonic material, regarding tonality and modulation, point already to the advent of a new manner and style of composition, brought on, especially in Italy, by the new dramatic forms of music, — the opera. Gibbons, standing on the threshold of a coming epoch, closes the old one, in every way, in a noble, glorious manner. He had successors, but none equalled him. Considered from the musical point of view of his time, he successfully mastered all the forms of composition then in cultivation. An untimely death cut him off in the midst of his labors.

In summing up the artistic results of this great epoch of English musical cultivation, and in comparing the labors of the above-mentioned composers with those of Continental masters, we find that the principles of construction, form, and style, in a melodic as well as in a harmonic sense, lying at the root of their works, are the same as those of the Netherlanders, the French, the Italians. The ecclesiastical keys, so subtly constructed on the basis of the old Gregorian modes; the arts of counterpoint, from the simplest form to the most complicated; the manner of combining the different classes of the human voice for peculiar phonetic effects, in order to serve as a vehicle for musical expression, — all these things were, in a high degree, familiar to English composers. Although the above masters gave undoubted proof of an individuality of their own, and of much originality, especially in the treatment of secular forms, such as the madrigal, the part-song, and instrumental pieces, yet their manner of using the tone-material cannot be pronounced a peculiarly original one. They did not open new roads, or invent new

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forms; neither did they influence, in any material way, the advent of the new epoch, based upon the almost exclusive use of the two modern tonalities, the major and the minor, as, among others, the Netherlanders Lassus and Cyprian de Rore, and the Italians Gabrieli and Monteverde have done. They, on the whole, followed faithfully the lead of the Continental composers with whose works they became acquainted. Though some of the English musicians who travelled on the Continent, such as Dowland, Bull, and others, found deserved recognition for their skill as performers, yet a comparatively small proportion of the compositions of the above English masters seem to have been known and republished by Italian, Flemish, and German musicians and music-publishers. To this may be attributed the scant notice taken by old Continental writers on music of the works of the English masters,—a neglect which, in the course of time, contributed much towards a general underrating of the real merit of the works of these excellent English musicians.

We are all acquainted with the history of Queen Elizabeth's glorious reign. Not alone did successful commerce and great political power testify to the energy, political prudence, foresight, and strength of a great nation, but successful cultivation of the arts and sciences in different forms contributed largely to enhance the glory of this memorable epoch; and music, honored and revered in its masters, readily lent its own splendor to an illustrious surrounding. Queen Elizabeth was, as far as we know, a personal friend of her chapel-masters; and that king of human intellectual power, Shakspeare, was the admiring friend of the charming singer Dowland, and wrote many a sweet

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verse in praise of the lovely art. Is it, then, a wonder that, under such favorable aspects, musical art was able to keep such a high place in England, and to accomplish so much? But the Puritans, in their attacks on religious and political abuses, as experienced under the reigns of Elizabeth's successors, were so blinded by fanaticism, that they confounded the cultivation of peaceful art with the sacrilegious works of the demon; and by destroying the ingenious labors of their nation's genius by persecuting and banishing the artists, they blighted and destroyed one of the greatest glories of the nation, — a blow from which England has not yet entirely recovered.

"Art in its various forms of display, genius in its diversified modes of exhibition, are the sources of a nation's wealth and greatness. The labors of the poet, the sculptor, the painter, the architect, the musician, are but exemplifications of like talent, and demonstrations of similar intellectual power; and their excellence is the standard by which we measure the rank and stature of a nation. Yet this is a truth to which many will give only a partial assent. They assign a subordinate rank, not only to the labors of a single artist, but to an entire region of art which they have never happened to study, and to which they are therefore unable to apply the test of criticism. It was said by a competent judge, that Purcell is as much the pride of England as Shakspeare, Milton, Newton. This assertion such persons would doubt, if not disbelieve: they would wonder to see a musician thus associated. But their wonder would cease if they were able to read and understand what he wrote. They would then discern the same self-sustained power, the same creative fancy, the same bright and original thought, the same intellectual vigor, in his productions, as in those of the poet and philosopher. Every work of genius forms a part of that foundation on which a nation's character, station, and form are created; and their preservation is as much to its interests as it ought to be its pride."[1]

[1] The English Cathedral Service, p. 66.

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CHAPTER IV.

DECLINE OF MUSICAL ART UNDER PURITAN RULE.

UNTIL the ascension of the Stuarts to the throne of England, music, as an art as well as a popular entertainment, was universally cultivated and greatly enjoyed by all the different classes of the English people. It seems that at the time of Elizabeth, "not only was it a necessary qualification for ladies and gentlemen, but even the city of London advertised the musical abilities of boys educated in Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, as a mode of recommending them as servants, apprentices, and husbandmen. Tinkers sung catches; milkmaids sung ballads; carters whistled; each trade, and even beggars, had their special songs. The bass-viol hung in the drawing-room for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cithern, and virginals, for the amusement of waiting customers, were the necessary furniture of the barber-shop. They had music at dinner, music at supper, music at weddings, music at funerals, music at night, music at dawn, music at work, music at play. He who felt not, in some degree, its soothing influence, was viewed as a morose, unmusical being, whose converse ought to be shunned, and regarded with suspicion and distrust."[1] Thus music, the social art *par excellence*, prospered, and contributed

[1] Chappell, i. 98.

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much towards the happiness of a people rendered strong and flourishing, both in its commercial enterprises as well as in its political organization, by a government faithful to the nation's interest, and energetic in maintaining order among opposing parties. With the arrival of the Stuarts, commenced the great parliamentary and religious struggles between the different sects and parties, finally ending in a cruel civil war which devastated many parts of the kingdom. The cultivation of peaceful arts was suddenly arrested; and from this deadly stagnation musical culture, considered in the light of a national art-development, which under preceding reigns had made such great strides, was afterwards unable to regain its former significance and strength. We meet, in the course of the following epoch, a few men of decided original genius, and much power of inventiveness; but instead of being able to rely on a high degree of art-culture among their nation, they were forced, in order to satisfy their ideal aim as artists, to look among the works of foreign masters for models. They often reached their models, but after their death there were none strong and profound enough to take up the work so far achieved in as hopeful and promising a manner. Thus it came, that, after Orlando Gibbons's death, English musical development went on in an aimless way. The people seemed to care little for its composers: the rich aristocracy, if they wanted music, imported foreign artists, and thought little of their own. There is no doubt that the great revolutionary conflict, which sent the king to the scaffold, and unmercifully banished all art-culture from the Church, public places, and home, smothered, for the time being, all artistic desire and

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aspiration. But, on the other hand, if music had taken deep root in the nature of the English people, it could not have failed to break out again in all its natural force and abundance as soon as peace had brought back leisure and toleration. We may point to another nation whose sufferings, during a long period, were most heart-rending, — Germany during the Thirty Years' War: yet so deeply was music rooted in the breast of her children, that, in spite of all obstacles, they cultivated and found solace in the practice of sacred song; and, after peace was restored, a race of skilful and profound organists were already at hand, who had preserved the art-traditions of former and happier times, and who laid the solid foundation of a German school of music of which Bach and Handel were the two great representatives.

It is, of course, not absolutely necessary that a nation should be musical in order to be great; but it cannot be denied that some links in a nation's greatness will be missing if the natural sense for art is absent. All that the reign of James I. presented of musical glory was an inheritance from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The whimsical, gloomy, yet learned King James, though unmusical, thought it advisable to assign music-teachers to his children. He seems to have given little encouragement to musical culture. During the whole of his reign, musical cultivation was "so little regarded by any of those in whose power alone were the means of encouragement to be found, that professors complained, and not without reason, that the science was destitute of patronage, and was fast declining from the state which it had not long before attained.[1] King Charles I., when a young

[1] Musical Biography, i. 112.

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prince, received lessons on the viol da gamba, from an English musician who lived long in Italy, where he changed his name Coper into the more euphonious one of Coperario. Charles I. seems to have made considerable progress on the viol. Playford, in his "Introduction to the Skill of Music," speaks of him in the following way:—

"Nor was his late sacred Majesty and blessed Martyr, King Charles the First, behind any of his predecessors in the love and promotion of the science, especially in the service of the Almighty God, which with much zeal he would hear reverently performed; and often appointed the service and anthem himself, being by his knowledge in music a competent judge therein; and could play his part exactly well on the Bass-Viol, especially of those incomparable phantasies of Mr. Coperario to the Organ."

On his ascension to the throne, the Italian N. Lanière was appointed master of the king's music. But the deadly politico-religious strife in which Charles became entangled with his nation, and which finally ended in his own destruction, did not leave him time to cultivate the arts, and especially music, towards which he seemed very partially disposed. Burney says,[1]—

"At his private concerts he is said to have condescended to honour with his notice several of his musical servants, who had the good fortune to be frequently in his presence, and to gratify them in a way the most flattering and agreeable to every artist of great talents, with smiles and approbation, when either their productions or performance afforded him pleasure."

At the advent of the civil war, English musical culture received a disastrous blow. The Puritans and Dissenters confounded music with Popery: it was con-

[1] H. of M., iii. 361.

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demned as one of the frivolous arts of the Antichrist; and therefore it was banished, not alone from church service, but also from the family circle. The musicians and composers of the Chapel Royal were persecuted and dispersed. All the music-books that fell in the way of the unmusical reformers were torn up and destroyed, the organs taken down. Cromwell, however, seems to have had some taste for music. John Hingston, a pupil of Orlando Gibbons, was even appointed as his private organist. All the music which Cromwell's followers tolerated was the singing of a few simple psalm-tunes. It was not until the return of Charles II. that music was allowed to make its re-appearance in the Church and public life. Charles II., who during the dictatorship of Cromwell, had spent some time at the court of France, where he acquired a taste for French music, upon his return to England established, in imitation of Louis XIV., a band commonly called the "four-and-twenty fiddlers." Antony Wood says, —

"Before the Restauration of King Charles II., and especially after, Viols began to be out of fashion, and only Violins were used, as Treble-Violin, Tenor and Bass Violin; and the King, according to the French mode, would have twenty-four violins playing before him, while he was at meales, as being more airie and brisk than Viols."

The following extract from a writer contemporary of Charles II. may convey an idea of the king's musical taste: —

"One of his Majestie's chaplains preach'd, after which, instead of the antient grave, and solemn wind musiq accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of twenty-four Violins between every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern or playhouse than a church." [1]

[1] Roger North, Memoirs of Musick, 98.

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Charles II. had a slight knowledge of music. He understood the notes, and sung, to use an expression of one who had often sung with him, "a plump bass;" but it nowhere appears that he considered music in any other light than as an incentive to mirth. The king's taste, and consequently the court's also, being partial to French music, English composers, in order to please their patrons, wrote in imitation of Lully's style: later the Italians superseded the French, then every thing had to be in the Italian style. Thus musical development in England, having lost all national importance, began to waver between this or that foreign influence.

The favorite entertainments of the court of James I. were masques and interludes, a sort of dramatic plays interspersed with music. We know that towards the end of the sixteenth century, the musical drama — the opera — was invented in Italy. The *recitativo* and the air became the principal elements of the opera. By means of this new form, as well as by the development of instrumental music, the old ecclesiastical modes were superseded by our modern major and minor tonalities. According to Hawkins, it was Lanière and Coperario who first made use in England of the new Italian musico-lyrical style. Lanière, born in Italy in 1568, came to England in the early part of his life. James I. chose him as music-teacher to his children. He was, at the same time, a good painter and engraver.

"During the reign of James I., the household musicians, those of the chapel, and many others of eminence, whom the patronage of Elizabeth had produced, were neglected, and very little of the royal favor was extended to any besides Lanière and Coperario. And for this it will be difficult to assign a reason: the one was an

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Italian by birth; and the other had lived in Italy till his style, and even his name, were so Italianized that he was in general taken for a native of that country: these men brought into England the style Recitativo, which had then lately been invented by Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini, and improved by Claudio Monteverde."[1]

The masques as performed at the court of James I. may be considered as the precursors of the opera in England. They were in spoken dialogue, sometimes in recitative, performed on a stage ornamented by machinery, dresses, and decorations, and were always interspersed with music, both instrumental and vocal. The chief writers of these entertainments were Ben Jonson, John Daniel, and Dr. Campion. The composers were Alfonso Ferabosco, Nicholas Lanière, Thomas Lupo, Nathaniel Giles. Judging from those specimens of these composers' airs which have come under my observation, they are neither well-formed airs nor recitatives, but a mixture of song-phrases and attempts at musical declamation. Here and there the form of the piece was merely that of the old ballad. In a melodic sense they stand below the English ballad of this epoch: they are a weak imitation of Peri's and Caccini's style, but cannot be compared with Monteverde's dramatic efforts.

The most successful and prolific English composer of masques was *Henry Lawes*, a pupil of Coperario. To him fell the honor of setting Milton's charming poem, the Masque of Comus, to music. Milton thought highly of Lawes, as the following lines he addressed to him testify:—

"Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured song
First taught our English music how to span
Words with just note and accent, not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long."

[1] Hawkins's H. of M., iii. 38.

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Lawes seems to have been, in general, the favorite English composer at this epoch: "the best poets of his time were ambitious of having their verses set to music by this admirable artist."[1] Though posterity has failed to confirm the favorable opinion of his contemporary admirers, yet there is much in the artistic labors of the composer Lawes that merits commendation. He had studied the new manner of the Italians very carefully, and endeavored, as much as lay in his power, to make use of his experience in the setting of the poems, which are generally selected with good taste. His declamation is generally truthful; and his efforts at musical expression, as indicated by the words, are very often happy. His imagination was not rich, his melodic inventiveness was confined, his dramatic vein rather weak: it lacked fire and intensity. As a harmonist, Lawes does not take a high rank: his efforts in this direction have often an amateurish look. Lawes seems to have had no mean opinion of himself. In the introduction to his first book of "Ayres and Dialogues," published in 1653, he takes occasion to give his countrymen a sharp rebuke for their partiality to Italian music.

"Wise men have observed our generation so giddy, that whatsoever is native, be it never so excellent, must lose its taste, because themselves have lost theirs. . . . Without depressing the honor of other countries, I may say our own nation hath had, and yet hath, as able musicians as any in Europe. . . . There are knowing persons who have been long bred in those worthily admired parts of Europe, who ascribe more to us than we to ourselves; and able musicians, returning from travel, do wonder to see us so thirsty for foreigners."

[1] Burney, H. of M., iii. 392.

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Thus we see, that, from the time the Italian musician began to appear in England, it became impossible for the English musician to dislodge him. At first the English composer considered it an honor to be able to write successfully according to the Italian manner. But in the course of time this Italian influence in musical matters became a barrier too strong for the English musician to overcome. Being forced, by the predilection of his English patrons for Italian melody, to deny his own individuality, and to imitate the Italian models in order to please, he was never afterwards able to throw off the Italian tutelage. The English composer, ever anxious to come up to his master-models, was gradually taught to underrate that which in his productions had a decided English look. An Italian brush and an Italian file were always kept close at hand to smooth down an expression here that betrayed its sturdy English origin, or a sentence there that had too much Saxon blood in its veins. Thus the English musician lost confidence in his own talent and powers: becoming at an early epoch, by force of circumstances, a slavish imitator of a foreign art expression, he only succeeded in reproducing certain marks of the outside form, and always fell short of that original æsthetic expression which lay at the foundation of the model work. The two elements, the English and the Italian, so vastly different in their innate nature, like water and oil, never mingled satisfactorily. It was as much a vain effort of the Englishman to write *bona-fide* Italian arias, as it was impossible for the Italian to write true English ballads. On one side, the Italian aria became burdened with a too prosaic expression: on the other hand, the ballad was bedecked with an abundance

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of fantastical ornaments that made it appear frivolous, if not ludicrous. Hence that double-faced style of the modern English ballad.

Those Englishmen who patronized music, witnessing the failure of the English composer to beat the Italians on their field, lost confidence in their countryman, who, though he had fairly tried to metamorphose himself into an Italian songster, was compelled to be satisfied with the grains that here and there fell from the well-supplied Italian table. Being discouraged by his own people, he became more and more timid and uncertain in his artistic endeavor: what he attempted to do was surpassed by the foreigner, and what he could have done very well was underrated by his people and never wanted. The Englishman of culture became too rich to take the trouble to create and sing his own songs. Music, in his eyes, was a pleasing means of passing the time; and as he could afford to buy it where it could display its greatest charms, he bought it, and cared little whether it was Italian, French, or German — provided only that it was not English.

Another English composer, superior to Lawes with regard to knowledge and skill, was *Matthew Lock.* Though bred among the traditions of English cathedral-music, in the composition of which he displayed great skill and ingenuity, yet, like other composers of this epoch, he enlisted among those who wrote for the stage. Burney[1] thinks that Lock was the first to furnish the English stage with music "in which a spark of genius was discoverable; and who was, indeed, the best secular composer our country could boast till the time of Purcell." Lock, on account of his reputation, was en-

[1] H. of M., iii. 420.

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gaged to compose music for the public entry of King Charles II. In 1656 he published "Little Consort of three parts, containing Pavans, Ayres, Corantes, Sarabands." In the preface to these pieces, Lock, who must have felt the injustice of seeing foreign musicians preferred to the English ones, takes occasion to censure those who hanker after foreign music. Among the pieces for the stage for which Lock composed instrumental music, we find the "Tempest," as altered by Dryden. But the music to "Macbeth," which passes for having been composed by Lock, is the composition of Richard Leveridge, and was performed for the first time Jan. 25, 1704. Lock, towards the latter part of his life, became a Roman Catholic, and died in 1677. R. North[1] says of this composer, that he "was the most considerable master of musick after Jenkins fell off. He was organist at Somerset hous chappell as long as he lived, but the Italian masters, that served there, did not approve of his manner of play, but must be attended by more polite hands; and one while one Sabinico, and afterwards Sig. Baptisto Draghi used the great organ, and Lock (who must not be turned out of his place, nor the execution) had a small chamber organ by, on which he performed with them the same services. In musick he had a robust vein, and many of his compositions went about; he set most of the psalmes to musick in parts; for the use of some virtuoso ladyes in the city; and he composed a magnifick consort in 4 parts after the old style, which was the last of the kind that hath been made. . . . He conformed at last to the modes of his time, and fell into the theatricall way, and composed to the semioperas divers pieces of vocall

[1] Memoirs of Musick, p. 95.

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and instrumentall entertainment, with very good success; and then gave way to divine Purcell, and others, that were coming full sail into the superiority of the musicall faculty."

Although the masques bear some resemblance to opera, it is curious, that, in spite of the popularity which the Italian opera form gained even outside of Italy, the English composers never ventured to transplant that lyrico-dramatic form to their own country, and reconstruct or metamorphose it according to the genius of their own language. They studied the "*drama per musica*," imitated some parts of it, but failed, either from timidity, incapacity, or from want of encouragement, to take the decisive step, in order to transform the masques into a real musico-lyrical drama. The name of "opera" has often been used erroneously in connection with plays written for the purpose of offering an opportunity to introduce instrumental interludes and songs.

Theatrical performances, interspersed with music, were very much cultivated, and encouraged by King Charles II., who, while staying at the court of France, acquired a great predilection for French taste in amusements. French opera was performed at the English court in 1672. Cambert, whom Lully had superseded in Paris, came to London, and succeeded in having his opera "Pomona" performed at court, and, it seems, in the original (French) language; but it met with indifferent success. In 1674 his "Ariadne," translated into English, was represented. I am unable to deduce from English writers on the subject what the success of "Ariadne" amounted to. Chouquet [1] says, "Cambert

[1] Histoire de la Musique dramatique en France, p. 103.

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was forced to go to England, where he produced his 'Ariadne' with applause." Cambert's efforts seem to have excited no emulation among his English colleagues. They went on writing music to plays and masques as before. It appears that English audiences were still more anxious to catch the sense of the words, when accompanied with music, than the French. A florid melody or a rich harmony was not appreciated by them if the words were in the least obscured by such musical means. Music was only tolerated as a kind of highly transparent tonal gauze over the words. The general English public did not find any satisfaction in purely musical expression: they rendered it subordinate to the literary meaning of the words.

Instrumental music, as practised by minstrels, was early cultivated in England. In a previous chapter I have given a specimen of an old instrumental piece. But pieces set according to the rules of counterpoint, and based upon the forms of vocal music, are the product of the contrapuntists who lived in the second half of the sixteenth century. These English musicians, like those of the Continent, composed madrigals to be sung, as well as played by different instruments. Among others, the celebrated lutenist Dowland published, in 1597, "The first book of Songes or Ayres of foure parts with Tablature for the Lute. So made that all the parts together, or either of them severally may be sung to the Lute, Orpherian, or Viol de Gamba." But gradually the instruments learned to depend on their own resources, and form parts independent of those of vocal music. Instrumental pieces called fancies, fantasias, etc., began to be written; and Robert White, a composer of fine church-music, is

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pointed out as probably the first English composer who made use of the title "fancies." The form of these fancies, however, does not much vary from that of the madrigal (*canzon*). Chr. Simpson, in his "Compendium of Practical Musick," says, —

"The chief and most excellent, for Art and Contrivance, are Fancies, of 6, 5, 4 and 3 Parts, intended commonly for Viols. In this sort of Musick the Composer (being not limited to words) doth employ all his Art and Invention solely about the bringing in and carrying on of Fuges. . . . When he has tryed all the several ways which he thinks fit to be used therein; he takes some other Point, and does the like with it, or else, for variety, introduces some chromatic Notes, with Bindings and Intermixtures of Discords; or, falls into some lighter Humour like a Madrigal, or what else his own fancy shall lead him to: but still concluding with something which hath Art and Excellency in it.

"Of this sort you may see many Compositions made heretofore in England by Alfonso Ferabosco, Coperario, Lupo, White, Ward, Mico, Dr. Colman, and many more now successful. Also by Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Lock, and divers other excellent men, Doctors and Batchelors in Musick, yet living. This kind of Musick, (the more is the pity) is now much neglected by reason of the scarcity of Auditors that understand it: their Ears being better acquainted and more delighted with light and airy Musick. . . . You need not seek Outlandish Authors, especially for Instrumental Musick; no Nation (in my opinion) being equal to the English in that way; as well for their excellent, as their various and numerous Consorts of 3, 4, 5 and 6 Parts, made properly for Instruments; of all which (as I said) Fancies are the Chief."

From this last passage of the above quotation, it may be seen that English composers, for a time, stood high in the estimation of their English colleagues. North[1] says to the same effect, —

"And as alterations with endeavor to advance are continually

[1] M. of M., p. 73.

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prefered, so the Italian masters, who alwais did, or ought to lead the van in musick, printed pieces, they called Fantazias, wherein was air and variety enough; and afterwards these were imitated by the English, who working more elaborately, improved upon their patterne, which gave occasion to an observation, that in vocall, the Italians, and in the instrumentall musick the English excelled."

Still more outspoken, in this regard, is Mr. Lock. I quote the following passage from his preface to his "Little Consort of three Parts, 1656:" —

"And for those Mountebanks of wit, who think it necessary to disparage all they met with of their own country-men's, because there have been and are some excellent things done by strangers, I shall make to tell them (and I hope my known experience in this science will enforce them to confess me a competent Judge) that I never saw yet any Forrain Instrumental Compositions (a few French Corants excepted) worthy an Englishman's transcribing."

These musicians and writers, smarting under the neglect and injustice English composers then already experienced at the hands of their countrymen, went, however, a little too far in their condemnation of "Forrain Instrumental Compositions." While English composers were still busy writing their "Fancies" and "Little Consorts," Italian composers had already made an effective use of the violin in conjunction with viols, and by this had gained a greater compass and more brilliancy for their works: while, at the same time, *the* modern instrumental form, the sonata, had already received at their hands a more careful and effective development; witness some of the instrumental pieces by Allegri, Merula, Neri, Legrenzi, and others. The Italians, then, as the Hon. R. North said, "did lead the van in musick," and remained for a long time masters of the situation.

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Let us now examine the construction, character, and expression of the fancies of some of the best English composers of this epoch, such as O. Gibbons, M. Lock, and Jenkins. When Chr. Simpson wrote his "Compendium," Orlando Gibbons's fancies must have been already forgotten, or considered antiquated: otherwise that writer, who mentioned so many English composers of instrumental music, could not have failed to mention the celebrated Orlando also. The form of Gibbons's "Fancies in three Parts,"[1] is that of the madrigal and motet. The parts follow each other in fugue or canon style. The compass of each part is similar to that of vocal music. The composer is still hanging on the leading-strings of vocal music as then written: only here and there the instruments attempt passages somewhat different from vocal ones, and more in accordance with the technique of the viols. There is little trace yet of a predominant *motivo*, serving as fundamental thought to the movement: a group of *motivi* is worked out, and afterwards chased and superseded by the arrival of a new group. The "*cantare e sonare*" still haunts the composer. The instruments, though struggling for a freer individual life, still walk on the stilts borrowed from vocal music. The tonality is still governed by the old ecclesiastical modes, which lend to the musical expression an archaic quaintness which has a strange effect upon modern ears. But, in spite of all these qualities, there is much life in the different parts, and continual motion characterizes every fancy. Those acquainted with Gibbons's vocal pieces will discover in these fancies a peculiar charm common to all of this excellent composer's works. To Burney's refined ears, these pieces sounded "utterly contemptible."

[1] Edited by Rimbault for the Musical Antiquarian Society.

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An Englishman who really had genius for instrumental music was John Jenkins, born in 1592. He composed numerous works, and enjoyed a great reputation during his life. Besides vocal pieces, he wrote principally for the lute and viols. The violin was at first not considered fit for artistic music by the English composer: it was left to the vulgar hands of the peasant fiddlers to play to their dances. But the importance which the violin gained with Italian composers and violinists began to influence English musicians; and Jenkins, in 1660, published twelve sonatas for two violins and a bass, with a thorough-bass for the organ or theorbo. Thus the Italian form of the sonata also served as model to English composers, and the old form of fancies was gradually discarded. Jenkins, in his fancies and sonatas, exhibits a true instrumental style. The *motivi*, especially in the sonatas, are invented in accordance with the technique and character of stringed instruments: the different parts move with freedom and ease; the melodic element, as congenial to stringed instruments, is graceful and fluent. The tonality, though showing here and there yet a reminiscence of the old ecclesiastical modes, is modern in its coloring. The chromatic element, as used in relation to modern major and minor modes, already plays a conspicuous *rôle*, and is often used with great ingenuity. North[1] says of Jenkins, —

"His Fancys were ful of ayry points: graves, triplas, and other variety, and his lesser pieces imitated the dulcer of the Lute-lessons, of which he composed multitudes; and all that he did until his declyning age, was lively, decided, and (if I may be credited) cappriccioso. And of this kind there was horsloads of his works,

[1] M. of M., 88.

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which were dispersed about, and very few came together into the same hands; but the private musick in England was, in great measure supplyed by him; and they were courted becaus his style was new, and (for the time) difficult, for he could hardly forbear divisions and some of his consorts was too full of them. And if that, as modern caprice will have it, be a recommendation, his compositions wanted it not; but this is further to be said of him, that being an accomplished master of the viol, all his movements lay fair for the hand and were not so hard as seemed. . . . It will be asked how it can consist that the musick of Mr. Jenkins, if it were such as here is pretended, should be so much layed aside, or rather contemned as it is, when the art is thought to be arrived at a perfection. This would be harder to answer, if it were not a great truth, and notorious, that every age since Apollo, did not say the same thing of the musick of their time. For nothing is more fashion than musick; no not cloathes, or language, either of which is made a derision to after times. . . . This (Mr. Jenkins') style is thought to be slow, heavy, moving from concord to concord, and consequently dull. And I grant that he was obnoxious to an excess the english were, and I believe yet are obnoxious too — and that is perpetually moving up and downe, without much saltation and battering as the Italians use."

The Italian musicians were all along dangerous neighbors to the English composers. Among the English instrumental composers of this time, Jenkins was the most important. Though he did not live to see the new forms reach a higher development, he nevertheless was progressive enough to try his hand at them; and his efforts in the new direction were highly praiseworthy. Orlando Gibbons and John Jenkins may be considered as the representative composers of a form of English instrumental music — the contrapuntal fancy — which formed an interesting episode in original English musical production.

The political and religious events which agitated England during the greater part of the seventeenth

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century did not afford the successors of O. Gibbons the necessary repose and leisure for the practice of a difficult art. To this insecure and harassing state of things, may be added the new reforms which Italian composers began to introduce after the invention of the opera. The modern tonalities that began to supersede the ecclesiastical keys impressed upon the forms of music new character and new æsthetic meaning. English musicians could not afford to ignore the reforms and inventions hailing from Italy. The English composer, conservative by nature, battled bravely with the Italians, and was at first slow in accepting the Italian style; but he eventually had to give way to his more brilliant antagonist, especially because musical audiences began to side with the foreigner. Then not alone secular music, but church-music also, became transformed.

The principal English church-composers of this epoch were *Childs*, *Batten*, *Rogers*, *Lawes*, and *Lock*. *William Childs*, a pupil of E. Bevin, still roots in the practice of the musicians of the Elizabethan age. He conscientiously strove to walk in the path of his great predecessors, and his works for the Church still present many of the good qualities to be found in the compositions of his great models. He was little influenced by the new reforms. His works, as to be found in Boyce's collection, are written entirely in harmony with the old traditions of the English church-composers. The harmonic construction is rather rich, the modulations are simple but effective, the melodic flow of the parts is natural and easy. The compositions of *Batten* and *Rogers* are useful contributions to the stock of English church-music: they do not exhibit much in-

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ventive power, or great depth of harmonic treatment. *William Lawes*, a brother of Henry Lawes, an industrious composer of fancies, devoted some of his efforts to church-music. Boyce gives an anthem by this composer, which Burney pronounces the "best and most solid of Lawes's compositions." The form of the anthem presents certain points of style which later English composers adopted. Lawes's anthem is composed of short phrases, loosely connected. The themes are not original. The modulations are based on the modern keys, and some passages are rather effective; but the work lacks unity of style and compactness. The dialogue of the masques has been transferred to the anthem. The periods do not follow each other in an easy, natural way: they sound "cut up," hung together as by an effort. *Matthew Lock's* anthem, "Lord," etc., is composed in a similar form; but, Lock's mastery having been greater, every thing is done with more art. The declamation is more forcible, and the different parts follow each other with more life and design.

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CHAPTER V.

REVIVAL OF MUSICAL CULTURE DURING THE RESTORATION.

After the Restoration the Royal Chapel had to be reconstructed, a choir formed, organists re-engaged, and instructors found in order to train efficient church-singers. It was, however, at first a difficult task to arrive at a satisfactory re-organization. During the rebellion choirs and organists had been dispersed and silenced. King Charles II. appointed Capt. Cooke as instructor and master of the children, of the Chapel Royal. Capt. Cooke had received his musical education in King Charles I.'s chapel. When the war of the rebellion broke out, Cooke joined the king's army, and received the commission of captain. His appointment in the Chapel Royal by Charles II. was probably due to his fidelity to the king's house, and probably also, as Antony Wood said, "that he was esteemed the best musician of his time:" there was a great scarcity of able musicians then. And if it is true that the growing talent of his pupil Pelham Humphrey caused him such mental anxiety that "he died with great discontent," he must have been aware of his shortcomings, and afraid of being superseded by his pupil. Cooke was a dry, unimaginative composer; and, says Burney, "if we judge of that by his few secular compositions dispersed in the collections of the time, he was little

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fitted for the high office to which he was appointed at the Restoration." His reputation as a musician seemed to have rested more on the score of his singing than on that of his talent as a composer. He was, probably, well enough qualified to instruct and discipline the young growth of English musicians confided to his care: and in this he was favored by luck; for, among the children of the Royal Chapel, several boys full of talent happened to become his pupils, and afterwards distinguished composers. Whether these young artists owed much of their knowledge to their first musical instructor, Capt Cooke, history has failed to tell us: certain it is, however, that the subsequent fame of these pupils of the Royal Chapel saved the name of the musical captain from sinking into oblivion. Among these young English musicians were *Humphrey*, *Wise*, and *Blow*. The boy *Henry Purcell* also was under Capt. Cooke's tuition from his sixth year to his fourteenth. I have already had occasion to mention that Charles II.'s musical taste was for French music. It is therefore not astonishing that the king, who seemed to have taken great interest in the promising talents of those boys, pointed out to them the masters and the works he wished them to study and imitate. One of these boys, — perhaps the most talented of them, — *Pelham Humphrey*, was therefore sent to Paris to pursue his studies under Lully. This lyrico-dramatic composer's influence in musical matters, at the court of Louis XIV., was boundless. All this must have greatly impressed such a receptive and easily excitable mind as that of the young English musician. The splendor of Lully's musico-dramatic representations, as directed by the arbitrary composer himself, must have made

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all that young Humphrey had experienced of English musical life appear indifferent and crude. Under the influence of Lully's instructive and artistic guidance, Humphrey made rapid progress; and it seems but natural that the young artist, enjoying the privilege of such great advantages, began to entertain a high opinion of his own powers. He soon felt himself superior to his old master Cooke, in knowledge and artistic prestige; and after his return to England was surely looked up to by his former companions. At the same time he seems to have been a favorite with King Charles II. Pepys in his Diary[1] says (Nov. 15, 1667), —

"Home, and there I find, as I expected, Mr. Cæsar and little Pelham Humphrey, lately returned from France, and is an absolute Monsieur, as full of form and confidence and vanity, and disparages everything, and everybody's skill but his own. But to hear how he laughs at all the king's musick here, as Blagrove and others, that they cannot keep time, nor understand anything; and the Grebus [Grabu, an obscure French musician], the Frenchman, the king's master of musick, how he understands nothing, nor can play on any instrument, and so cannot compose; and that he will give him a lift out his place; and he and the king are mighty great."

After the death of Capt. Cooke, in 1672, Humphrey was appointed master of the children, — a position he did not enjoy long; for two years after, 1674, when only twenty-seven years old, death cut short a career which commenced in such a promising and brilliant manner.

Humphrey possessed fine qualities as a composer. There is much sweetness and charm in his melodies; his harmonic treatment, as well as the expressive declamation of the words he set to music, give proof of

[1] See Dr. F. Hüffer's article in the Musical Times.

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a highly artistic, intelligent mind. Young Humphrey, full of activity, trusting in his own powers, gifted with melodic inventiveness, and desirous to please his royal protector, busily composed in the forms and style of his French models. As the English at that time had no opera librettos to set to music, Humphrey transferred Lully's style to the setting of his anthems. He felt the power in him to achieve something eminent, and endeavored to discard the old English manner of composing. In his verse anthems he made the solo voices declaim and sing, as Lully made the heroes and heroines of his operas declaim and sing. Even the chorus is dramatized: there is life and vivid expression everywhere. Had Pelham Humphrey had the chance to set a good dramatic libretto to music, according to Lully's form, he surely would have enriched the English stage with an important work, and his influence in this direction would have been, perchance, highly important, and of great bearing on English secular musical development. He had the material of a dramatic composer in him. The form of the anthem, as employed by young Humphrey, must not be regarded as entirely his own work, however: previous efforts in this direction by W. Lawes, M. Lock, his master Cooke, and others, prepared the transformation of this most important form of English church-music; and surely Humphrey, while under the tuition of Capt. Cooke, became acquainted with the church compositions of his immediate predecessors. He thus added to his former experiences his new ones gained while studying under Lully, and was enabled to contribute considerably towards giving the anthem that modern form with which we are now acquainted.[1]

[1] See also p. 124.

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Michael Wise was one of the most talented boys of the Chapel Royal, and a pupil of Capt. Cooke. He became distinguished as organist, and composer of anthems. Charles II. must have thought much of Wise, for in a progress the king once made, he appointed Wise as one of his suite. By this appointment, the young organist had the privilege of playing at whatever church the king visited. It is said that on one of these occasions he presumed to begin his voluntary before the preacher had finished his sermon. This indiscreet behavior drew upon him the king's displeasure, and caused his suspension. It seems that this young growth of English chapelmasters knew how to appreciate their own value: they were not to be outdone by the foreigner; they boldly kept their own, though often indiscreet and forward in their manner. They found recognition, and through this acquired confidence in their own powers. This musician's compositions evince much originality of inventiveness, sweet pathos, and fine expression. He stands on his own feet, whatever influence his fellow-student Humphrey might have exercised on him; and, judging from his character, he was not the man blindly to accept as model a composer who was his schoolmate. His style is in conformity with that then forming by means of the labors of indigenous and foreign composers.

Another of the distinguished musicians, *Dr. John Blow*, was also a pupil of Capt. Cooke. He received some instruction from Hingston, who had been domestic organist to the Protector; and from Dr. Christopher Gibbons, a talented organist, and son of the great Orlando Gibbons. Blow succeeded Humphrey as master of the children. In 1685 he was nominated one of

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the private musicians of James II. Upon the decease of H. Purcell, he became organist of Westminster Abbey, and some time later was appointed composer to the king. He died in 1708.

Blow was a prolific composer of church-music as well as of secular music. His greatest strength lies in his choruses, which exhibit much power and boldness. The cantilena in his songs is often awkward and devoid of grace. Burney, in his History of Music,[1] has upbraided Dr. Blow on account of his inaccuracies in modulation and harmonic treatment. "It does not appear that Purcell, whom he did himself the honor to call his scholar, or Crofts or Clark, his pupils, ever threw notes about at random, in his manner, or insulted the ear with lawless discords which no concord can render tolerable," fumes the learned purist and historian. Blow was a very voluminous composer, and at times may not have been careful enough in the working-out of his compositions: but as a harmonist he is entirely modern, and even bold and original; and the musical student will agree with Dr. Boyce, who, in his excellent collection of English church-music, makes especial mention of Blow's "success in cultivating an uncommon talent for modulation." Dr. Burney does not at all agree with Dr. Boyce's judgment. He thought he knew better how to make use of a correct and smoothly written harmony; for he took pains to impress his *savoir-faire* as a harmonist upon the reader's attention, by publishing, in the third volume of his History of Music, the leathery exercise he wrote when he took the degree of Doctor of Music.

Dr. Blow's secular songs were published in 1700, in a folio volume, under the title of "Amphion Anglicus."

[1] Vol. iii. p. 448.

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Pelham Humphrey marks the beginning of another truly eminent, too short, period in the history of English music. He and his comrades prove, that, with the right encouragement and advantageous opportunity, the English musician was able to keep his own place in the ranks of creative composers. The ground they unconsciously prepared was even fertile enough to produce the great Henry Purcell. Had these musicians been looked down upon by the court, and their works and labors underrated and ignored, we may take it for granted that Purcell, in spite of his genius, would not have gained the importance he did as a national composer. Even the greatest genius must have opportunity and room to grow, and be backed by a certain national encouragement and appreciation. He may not be understood and appreciated by his contemporaries, in his whole significance and depth; but a certain amount of national space must be allowed to him to expand among the rest of his brethren, otherwise he will be smothered in the bud. This was, no doubt, the case with many highly gifted English musicians, among the successors of the above composers. Lessing's saying, that Raphael would have been the great painter he was, even if he had been born without arms, is true only in the abstract: the genius, or man of remarkable talent, has concrete meaning for us only through his works; we are able to understand him only by the contemplation and study of his creations. Pelham Humphrey, after his return from France, and upheld by the king's favor, re-appeared among his young comrades with much prestige. His influence on their own efforts in composition was also, no doubt, of a reformatory character; for he had had the good luck to receive per-

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sonal advice from the great Lully, whom King Charles II. surely regarded as the greatest living composer. We may imagine that a lively emulation existed among the young men; that they watched each other's efforts with great interest; that every one of them endeavored to discover something new and original, be it in a melodic or a harmonic sense: and the king, as far as his *blasé* Majesty could, seems to have taken some interest in the labors of his young composers. That Wise and Blow followed Humphrey's style slavishly, is, judging from the character and form of their works, not admissible. Italian masters, and especially Carissimi, seem to have been diligently studied by them.

Hawkins tells us,[1] that King Charles admired a little duet of Carissimi to the words "Dite o Cielo," and asked Blow if he could imitate it. Blow modestly answered that he would try; and composed, in the same measure and the same key, that fine song, "Go, perjured man." The song is No. 25 in "Amphion:" it is with an accompaniment for two violins, with a thorough-bass. Although Charles II.'s musical taste was not of the serious kind, yet the encouragement he gave to his young composers was beneficial. Dr. Tudway and other English critics judged Humphrey, Wise, and Blow too harshly, for indulging the king's French taste "so far as to introduce theatrical corants and dancing movements into their anthems. Even the great Purcell is not exempt from this charge; and many of his finest anthems are disfigured by fiddling symphonies, invented only to tickle the ears of the wretched Charles." It must indeed excite our admiration, when we consider the youth and apparent inexperience of these young

[1] H. and P. of M., iv. 488.

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English composers, and find, that, in spite of the secular and rather frivolous material with which they had to build up the new forms in order to please their royal protector, their works present so many fine qualities, and are less in contradiction with the traditions of a true church-style than might have been expected from the influence of their worldly surroundings. The naturally solid and healthy character and type of their talent lifted them safely over the breakers, where others less gifted, and less sure of foot, would have succumbed and sunk into complete oblivion. Hawkins[2] very justly says, —

"The advantages were very great which music derived from the studies of these men: they improved and refined upon the old church-style, and formed a new one, which was at once both elegant and solemn; and from the many excellent compositions of the musicians of King Charles II.'s reign, now extant, it may be questioned whether the principles of harmony, or the science of practical composition, were ever better understood than in his time; the composers for the Church appearing to have been possessed of every degree of knowledge necessary to the perfection of art."

But in studying closely the works of the above composers, one gains the impression that many portions of their anthems seem to have been composed in great haste, — especially the chorus parts, which very often seem to be merely short sketches. The chorus parts have, no doubt, been often sacrificed in the interest of the long, spun-out solo verses. The king probably did not care for the chorus; thus the solos received the "lion's share" of the composition. The character of many of these anthems is aphoristic: sentences after

[2] H. of M., iv. 430.

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sentences follow each other, without any inner æsthetic connection and relation; the different periods do not grow logically out of a preceding germ, they are strangers to each other; and, a similar formula of closing cadences and of passing modulations occurring continually, a certain degree of monotony becomes prevalent, — a depressing effect which the most careful declamation and refined melodic expression are not able to obviate. Had these composers put more importance in the part the chorus ought to take in church-music, especially in larger form, many of these defects would have been avoided, and the æsthetic expression and beauty would have been increased.

In the labors of *Henry Purcell*, this new but short and highly promising epoch of English musical art found its climax. Indeed, Purcell may be pronounced, every thing considered, the greatest musical genius England has ever produced. He was born in 1658, and grew up under the direct influence of the musicians and composers of the Royal Chapel of Charles II. Captain Cooke, Pelham Humphrey, and Dr. Blow seem to have been his teachers. He belonged to a musical family: both his father Henry and his uncle Thomas Purcell were gentlemen of the Royal Chapel, and had some reputation as composers of church-music and songs. Young Purcell, by means of his great talent and early acquirement of the principles of composition, was able to write estimable works for the Church while yet a choir-boy. At the age of eighteen he was appointed organist of Westminster Abbey, and a few years later he was chosen to fill one of the three places of organist to the Royal Chapel; but his premature death in 1695, at the age of thirty-seven only, deprived Eng-

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land of a powerful musical mind, whose efforts, if truly recognized, might have given English musical development a highly original and national direction, at an epoch when foreign art influences began to creep in, and finally superseded and almost totally suppressed all original national art aspiration.

Purcell, cultivating the different forms made use of at this time in England, was successful as a composer of church-music and secular songs, as well as in the dramatic and instrumental styles. In his anthems, services, etc., he, in general, adhered to the manner and form of treatment employed by Humphrey, Wise, and Blow. But by means of greater genius, and of early acquired facility in the handling of the material, his style became more original, more natural, more graceful, and consequently more effective. Many of his choruses are in form and contents classical. His best efforts in this direction are only surpassed by those of Handel; and the great predecessor closely approaches, at times, the greater successor. Purcell, however, was not satisfied to walk solely in the track of his immediate English predecessors and contemporaries. His taste and natural aspirations led him, as they will every broad-minded artist, to study, as much as opportunity allowed him, the works of other masters, and especially those of the great Italian composers, whose superiority in melodic form and style he undoubtedly learned to appreciate. "Music," said he, "is yet but in its nonage, a forward child, which gives hope of what it may be hereafter in England, when the masters of it shall find more encouragement. 'Tis now learning Italian, which is its best master, and studying a little French air, to give it somewhat more

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gayety and fashion. Thus, being farther from the sun, we are of later growth than our neighbor countries, and must be content to shake off our barbarity by degrees." This great modesty on the part of so great a genius and accomplished composer is really touching and highly instructive: it also proves that the advising fingers of English musical patrons must have always been pointing towards some models beyond the sea. "Imitate those, and then we shall indorse your attempts," must have continually sounded in the English composers' ears, until these began to believe it to be so, and acted accordingly. Of course, one nation learns from another: that, more successful in original art production, will invariably furnish models to this, less skilful; this will at first be a mere crude imitator, but it must possess the inner power of changing, transforming the foreign material into one that eventually will receive a new stamp expressive of its own national individuality and emotional characteristic æsthetic conception. These natural national qualities, belonging to each productive nation, have not hitherto been recognized, appreciated, or discovered by the English, in the case of their own composers: hence the comparatively little influence English composers have exercised on musical development in their own country.

Though Purcell endeavored to fashion his recitatives and his arias after the Italian models, he did not succeed entirely in his attempts to become Italianized. His genius was of too original an English type to abnegate its birthright. His works in the above direction, though highly dramatic and expressive, lack the smoothness, finish, and plasticity of form, of the Italian products. The vocality of the melodic passages often

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sounds heavy. Long-winded passages often interrupt the effective declamatory portions of a recitative, or disfigure the exquisite naturalness and naïve simplicity of an air. That pedantic practice, so freely made use of by the composers of his time, — viz., of composing over a ground-bass, consisting of a group of notes filling a couple of bars of an air, or song, — was also diligently cultivated by Purcell.

Although his pieces written in this manner present many very ingenious points, and give proof of his great mastery over the melodic and harmonic material, yet, in the interest of a free and original inventiveness, it is to be regretted that he thought it necessary to adhere to it so often. His fancy and imagination seemed at times, when a more independent and a bolder progression was required, to be kept down by voluntary but unnecessary fetters. It is therefore, in many respects, a pity, that, in accordance with this narrow professional habit, he did not emancipate himself entirely from these pedantic bonds, an art-practice only interesting and useful to the student of thorough-bass.

But, at the same time, we must not forget, that, great as Purcell's genius must strike every one who studies his work, unbiased by national prejudices, he lived at an epoch when his country was just emerging from a time of religious and political contest, when musical art was banished from the court and the Church, then its two main-stays. There was no national art tradition or style upon which he could build: the majority of English people rejected musical culture altogether. Those characteristic national traits belonging to his people had not had time to crystallize into new original art-

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expression, based upon æsthetic forms called forth by the spirit of a new time. If in his works we often miss uniformity of style and clearness of form, it must be attributed to the inadequate opportunities for study he had when he began his career as a composer. Though a genius stands above his time, yet he must first learn how to master that which his time presents at its best: before he is able to mould his own original thoughts, he must learn to cast that mould from the material he finds around him.

That which lends Purcell's works an irresistible charm — their healthy contents, though seemingly at times rather crude and awkward, when considered superficially — is just the very essence of the manly, strong, upright English music, often heroic and passionate, yet not destitute of sweetness and tender pathos. Purcell's music is a faithful emotional interpretation of the English poetical matter he chose to unite to his tone-forms, whether taken from Holy Writ, or the poetical efforts of Dryden, or an adaptation of a Shakspeare creation. His musical treatment of his native language is as faithful as it is artistically true: he composed his songs and choruses in close accordance with the spirit of the English language. It is not an awkward adaptation of Italianized melodic phrases to English words: the music essentially grew out of the words. In its absolute melodic formation the Italian and English elements did not mingle with artistic smoothness: the periods are not always marked with sufficient clearness by means of distinct cadences. The rhythm of his *motivos* is energetic and well pronounced. The vigor, power, life, richness, emotional depth of his choruses, surpass any thing that English musical art

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has to show; and only the great Anglo-German Handel has surpassed Purcell in his choruses, which were, apparently, often formed after the model of Purcell's creations. There is no doubt that Purcell possessed all the necessary qualities of an eminent dramatic composer; and, had he been favored by outward circumstances, he surely would have been able to lay the foundation of a form of musical drama, just as nationally English, as Lully and his successors were enabled to do with regard to the French opera, and as Keyser for a time succeeded in doing at Hamburg with regard to a German opera. We have seen above, that attempts to introduce the Italian opera-form, as well as the French, were made, but without securing for either a lasting existence. Purcell's first efforts at composing an opera seem to have come about in a very accidental way. We know that his occupation was that of an organist and church-composer, and his studies were necessarily directed to that end. There is no doubt that he was also attracted by the different musico-dramatic performances which took place at the court of Charles II. A musician of Purcell's stamp, young, and easily impressed by every thing that surrounded him, who in many of his anthems, written when quite young, showed the hand of a dramatic composer, was certain to succeed in the operatic style when once embarked in it. His first operatic attempt, "Dido and Æneas," was written when he was only seventeen years old. Hawkins gives the following account of the occurrence: [1] —

"One Mr. Josias Priest, a celebrated dancing-master, and a composer of stage dances, kept a boarding-school for young gentlewomen in Leicester-fields; and the nature of his profession inclining

[1] H. of M., iv. 499.

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him to dramatic representations, he got Tate to write, and Purcell to set to music, a little drama called 'Dido and Æneas.' Purcell was then of the age of nineteen [seventeen]; but the music of this opera had so little appearance of a puerile essay, that there was scarce a musician in England who would not have thought it an honour to have been the author of it. The exhibition of this little piece by the young gentlewomen of the school, to a select audience of their parents and friends, was attended with general applause, no small part whereof was considered as the due of Purcell."

The form of the piece was that of the Italian opera. The dialogue is throughout in recitative style, interspersed with songs, duets, and choruses. In his later dramatic works, he almost entirely discarded the recitative. These works are half operas, half plays. The independent pieces that are to be found in these works are very often characteristic in expression, and highly dramatic: but there is no attempt at a musical delineation of dramatic characters; the dramatic expression is a general one. The poet Dryden has given, in the preface to "Albion and Albionus," an admirable definition of the construction of an opera, or musical drama, as it was then, no doubt, looked upon by composers: —

"An opera is a poetical tale, or fiction, represented by vocal or instrumental music, adorned with scenes, machines, and dancing. The supposed persons of this musical drama are generally supernatural, as gods and goddesses, and heroes, which at least are descended from them, and in due time are to be adopted into their number. The subject therefore, being extended beyond the limits of human nature, admits that sort of marvellous and surprising conduct which is rejected in other plays. Human impossibilities are to be received, as they are in faith; because, where gods are introduced, a supreme power is to be understood, and second causes are out of doors: yet propriety is to be observed even here. The gods are all to manage their peculiar provinces; and what was attributed by the heathens to one power ought not to

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be performed by another. If the persons represented were to speak on the stage, it would follow of necessity, that the expression should be lofty, figurative, and majestical: but the nature of an opera denies the frequent use of these poetical ornaments; for vocal music, though it often admits of loftiness of sound, yet always exacts a melodious sweetness; or, to distinguish yet more justly, the recitative part of an opera requires a more masculine beauty of expression and sound: the airs must abound in the softness and variety of numbers; their principal intention being to please the hearing, rather than to gratify the understanding."[1]

Purcell's "Dido and Æneas" is composed entirely in accordance with the above remarks. It is curious that Purcell, after so successful a first attempt, should have been satisfied with furnishing merely introductory symphonies, songs, and choruses interspersed between the dialogues of a play. With the collaboration of a poet like Dryden, he might have been able to create an opera-form entirely in accordance with English musical taste, and the spirit of English dramatic art. Dryden, however, seems at first not to have thought very favorably of Purcell's powers, since he chose (probably also by desire of King Charles II.) the French musician Grabut to set "Albion and Albionus" to music. Grabut belonged to the king's band, of which he was appointed master after Cambert's death. Dryden, however, at a later time, seems to have found out that Purcell was a superior composer to Grabut.

This was the great opportunity for England to lay a deep foundation for an original musical drama. The poet Dryden and the composer Purcell had all the required qualities to create it. Dryden, as we have seen above, thoroughly understood the form and meaning of

[1] Burney, H. of M., iv. 190.

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the opera, as constructed by the Italians: but, since the writer of an opera-libretto was then considered the servant of the composer of the music, it was laying constraint on his poetical powers to write words for music; and in his plays, where music entered, he always felt best at home in those parts in which he could follow the "rules of poetry in the sound and cadences of the words." A composer of such decided character, and clearness of purpose, as Lully, was needed in order to influence such a versatile poet. Purcell was either too modest in his relations with Dryden, or he had no fixed, clear understanding of the ideal life and inner nature of the musico-lyrical drama. As a composer he ranks higher than Lully and his immediate successors; but what he lacked most was such a constant protector as stood by the side of Lully, — a Louis XIV.

The attempts of some modern English writers on music to pronounce the plays to which Purcell furnished overtures, symphonies, songs, and choruses, as the true English lyrical drama, may pass *faute de mieux;* but, looked at with the eyes of an unbiased judge, I think the English have deserved a better fate than has been theirs in regard to a national opera.

Some years after Purcell's death, the Italian opera gained a sure footing on English soil, and began to reign supreme until the present time. I find it superfluous to add any thing here to what I have already said in another place on English operatic affairs.[2] Whatever the friends of English musical art may try to prove regarding the existence of a true English drama, the discouraging fact remains, that English composers, since the beginning of the reign of the Italian

[2] Students' H. of M., chap. viii.

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opera in London, have not been able to shake off the fetters of that all-powerful branch of musical art: they were even obliged, in order to gain a hearing from their own people, to bend down, and pay homage to the brilliant, graceful, dazzling, sense-enchanting Italian form.

Henry Purcell marks the point of culmination of this second important epoch of English musical development. It was a period full of struggle, discouragement, and renewed efforts and hope. In the labors of Purcell the English musical spirit had once more succeeded in gathering all the best qualities of its powers. But the great original germs to be found in Purcell's works have not been utilized by the musicians of his own people, in such a way as to build up a new, strong, lasting English school of music. The best his successors proved themselves able to do was to write conventional church-music, and slavishly to follow, in their forms of secular music, in the steps of the all-powerful foreigners. There were among them men of considerable talent and great theoretical and practical knowledge and skill; but, unfortunately, none have appeared possessing sufficient strength of genius and powerful artistic character, necessary to conquer lost ground from the foreign musicians firmly settled in England. Nay, it even came to pass that the able efforts of native artists were often totally overlooked by English musical amateurs; and foreigners, inferior in talent and practical skill, were often allowed to occupy places of honor.

However, in one branch of musical production — and one that will occupy our attention in another part of this book — English musicians were quite prolific,

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though very often weak and insipid, and therefore they helped to depreciate musical art to a great degree: I mean, by writing, adapting, and compiling psalm and hymn tunes. This musical branch, of doubtful artistic character, served, as we shall see, for a long time as the model of true music to a new, rising nation, the descendants of the English; and was the occasion of creating, in the new country, a musical atmosphere and literature, often childish and ludicrous in its artistic pretensions, and often unscrupulous and unprincipled in regard to "adaptation." The "Yankee psalm-tune smiter," however, learned the business from the musical sinners of the mother-country: he simply improved upon it. The influence exercised by English musical matters on the rise and growth of musical culture in America was all-powerful up to the introduction of Italian opera in New York, and remained partially so until the American Civil War.

The history of musical development in England after the epoch of Purcell is, on the whole, only a narrative of the doings of great and small foreign musicians who have visited London up to our time; but, however interesting such a historical review might be, it is not the object of this work to follow it. Many of its points will be touched upon, as far as they have influenced music in America, and also in the chapter treating of church-music and psalmody.

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CHAPTER VI.

MUSIC IN THE ROMAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

OUR music in general owes a great debt to the Church, and especially to the *Roman-Catholic Church.* The germs of many of our great forms may be traced back to that source, while many works of stupendous conception, grandeur, and deeply sacred expression, were suggested to the great masters by the inspiration they received from the Catholic Church. The time of the great reformation in religious matters also exercised a great influence on the cultivation of music. Sometimes this influence proved advantageous, sometimes detrimental, to musical growth. But gradually confusion regarding the right use of music during divine service began to reign supreme; and now, in the whole range of modern musical art-forms, the historico-critical treatment and appreciation of none is so beset with contradiction, and perplexity in general, as that of church-music. Every religious sect thinks it necessary, in order to work out its own salvation, to have its own peculiar views and theory with regard to the proper manner of singing in church, and the form of song to be admitted for such practice. This practice, in most cases, does not rest on the broad basis of art, as the vehicle for æsthetical beauty and expression suggested by religious feeling and rites, but on that

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of prosaic usefulness and narrow conventional fitness. Most of the English Protestant sects, like the followers of Calvin, have considered true musical aims, though asserted in ever so modest a manner, and the product of artistic endeavor, as a dangerous element, full of worldly temptations to the soul that allowed itself to be influenced, and great music as a bewitching siren, the worthy companion of Antichrist, and as such to be banished, not alone from holy places, but also from the home of the true Christian.

Since that memorable epoch when Constantine the Great (323) decreed that the Christian religion should be the chief religion of the whole Roman Empire, music, though early recognized as the inseparable handmaid of religion, has caused the heads of Church government the deepest concern. Of a more liquid, restless nature than the positive word, it has ever evaded all attempts at compressing it, for any length of time, within the narrow limits of a stereotyped form, like a religious dogma. Incommensurable in self-reproduction, and of endless motion like the sea, music, if not watched with the greatest care, often would, like rich, rank, tropical creeping plants, overreach and smother the liturgical text; when its office should have been to lend its deepest emotional charms, not as an independent mistress, but as a sympathetic, modest companion. It is therefore not astonishing to find it recorded, that, in all ages, men of a sober orthodox turn of mind, if not inclined to banish the seemingly unruly element altogether from the sanctuary, yet have always been desirous to reduce it, at any rate, to its most simple forms of expression.

The singing of hymns has at all times found such

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favor with the people, that it was recommended, during the first centuries of the establishment of the Christian religion, by all those apostles and missionaries who were most active in the conversion of the heathen to the new religion. Indeed, the singing of a beautiful hymn seems to have proved, in many cases, a most effective means of impressing the unruly, barbarous tribes with the beauty and efficiency of the new religion. The irresistible charm of tone-material found its way to the emotional nature of the crude man, and touched it as by magic, long before mere speech, even that most glowing with religious enthusiasm, could affect the understanding of the uneducated, unprepared mind of the barbarian. Arius, who, in the beginning of the fourth century, attempted to form a religious sect in accordance with his views of the Christian doctrines, must have been well aware of the power of melody. The hymns he composed for the use of his followers found the more favor with the people, as they were sung to well-sounding melodies, and especially during processions which the Arians organized in the streets of Constantinople. It was in vain that the Council of Laodicea prohibited the singing of such songs during holy service; in vain, that some bishops, in order to weaken the influence of the Arian hymns, thought it necessary to write orthodox hymns. At last St. Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, in order to counteract the effect and influence of the Arian manner of singing hymns, found it advisable to compose, if possible, still finer ones, and to have them sung during processions, which he also thought necessary to organize; thus stealing the thunder of his adversaries.[1]

[1] Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenliedes und Kirchengesangs, second edition, vol. i. p. 12.

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St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who truly appreciated the efficacy of melody when nobly associated with the words of a hymn, selected among the melodies of the Greek Christians such as he thought fit, and introduced them in the church of Milan. But, in thus admitting the musical practice of the Greeks, St. Ambrose's principal endeavor was to exclude all that he found to have too much affinity with secular song, and to admit only such forms of singing as were capable of interpreting the spirit of the hymn in a simple, noble, dignified manner. If we judge of this manner of singing, during divine service, by what the strict and orthodox St. Augustine reports of it, it must have been of much power, and exercised a great emotional influence on its hearers. "How I wept, O God," says St. Augustine, "deeply touched by the hymns and songs of praise, as uttered by the voices of thy sweetly singing congregation! The voices flowed in at my ears, truth was distilled in my heart, and the affection of piety overflowed in sweet tears of joy." The mere reading, even the most effective, could not have produced such an outburst of pious feelings. In the course of the next century, however, the Ambrosian song gradually lost its primitive purity: secular elements crept in, and greatly disfigured its meaning and form. Towards the beginning of the seventh century, St. Gregory re-organized and established the musical part of the liturgy according to the higher demands of a richer and more powerful church. He fixed the forms of melodies and chants, and hoped to have them accepted and preserved by all the other Catholic churches, in a pure and unaltered manner. But the fact that he had a copy of the Antiphonarium, as prepared under his direction, chained to the altar of

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St. Peter, in order that other churches might be able to correct the church chants when corrupted by the unskilful use of their singers, proves that the great pope understood the changeableness of human nature in matters of church-music. Indeed, his apprehension was justified; for, although the Gregorian chant could serve as a solid basis to church-music, yet, in some churches of Italy and France, it was often so disfigured by variations and frivolous ornaments, that it was difficult to extricate the original melody from the luxuriant overgrowth. The Gregorian song, however, is *art-song* already. Although still monody, yet it is based upon certain rules and fixed tonalities, constructed according to the theory of the old Greek music. To execute the Gregorian chant in all its intended purity and liturgical significance, well-trained singers are required. It is not people's song, but ecclesiastical song: it formed an integrant part of holy service, of which the priest was the interpreter. The people, the congregation, stood towards it in a passive way; and, according to the hierarchical arrangement of the Roman Church, the text which the Gregorian melody had to interpret was — as it still is — in the Latin tongue. The Gregorian chant formed a highly effective and impressive part in the rich ceremonial construction of the service of the Roman-Catholic Church: the faithful interpreter of those different emotions of sacred life, as taught by the new religion, it struck deep roots in the new church, and thus became a fitting foundation for our modern musical art, the direct outcome of the deeper and richer emotional spirit awakened by the teachings of Christ and his inspired followers. In the course of the next centuries after St. Gregory, a new factor began to im-

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press its influence on the form of church-music, — harmony, or the art of sounding several tones in a simultaneous manner, according to certain rules. These rules, like those that at first regulated the melodious progression of Gregorian monody, owed their origin to the old Greek musical theorists. Harmonized music, though at first coarse and clumsy, soon engaged the ingenuity and inventiveness of church-singers; and, with the ardent desire of mastering the intricate material of the new art, our mediæval singers lighted on many a fantastical form, so that the Gregorian chant was soon smothered under the rank richness of the new harmonic and melodic ornaments. In France, church-singers forgot themselves to such a degree that they took frivolous secular songs as an harmonious second to the Gregorian melody.[2] The grafting of the secular element upon the sacred was, when considered from the standpoint of religious fitness and propriety, entirely out of place, and in diametrical opposition to the spirit that should preside over sacred things and occupations: yet in an art sense, as history has proved, it was of immense influence on the creation and growth of the divers forms of modern musical cultivation, based upon harmonic development. Church-music was then exclusively in the hands of the priests: all the innovations introduced into church practice were thus the work of the monks. We often see these natural guardians of the liturgical art vie with the troubadours and other mundane strolling musicians of these times, in the production of secular songs. These often found their way from the hall of the monastery to the church. All these things, in the course of centuries, created con-

[2] Ritter, Student's History of Music.

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fusion, and instead of rendering church-music more dignified, more impressive, succeeded in exciting the displeasure and even disgust of those who wished to hear, according to the old traditions, the Gregorian chant in its former grandeur, simplicity, and purity. The church-singers, busy and indefatigable in the use of the new arts of counterpoint, thought more of their beloved descant and *fauxbourdon* than of the old, simple, monotonous Gregorian chant, and the sacred meaning of the liturgical text they had to sing. The Church, wishing to put an end to the growing confusion caused by the new contrapuntal artificialities, resolved to banish them from its sanctuary. Thus Pope John XXII. issued a decree in which he reminded the clergy of the proper manner in which true church-singing should be regulated; and, speaking of the disciples of the new school, he says, "Those who were captivated with it, attending to the new notes and new measures of the disciples of the new school, would rather have their ears tickled with semibreves and minims, and such frivolous inventions, than hear the ancient ecclesiastical chant." But this ordinance proved powerless to stay the new spirit that pushed the disciples of the new art onward to further inventions. The Pope was forced, nevertheless, to tolerate the harmonic treatment of some parts of church-song, though in a most simple way. The old musicians, on the road to the creation and development of a new art, had not yet learned to understand and consider this new element in all its importance and effectiveness. Every new form discovered had at once to serve the nearest purpose. The sense of æsthetical discernment and artistic propriety slumbered yet. This was to be gained only after centuries of experimentaliz-

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ing. The Pope, the councils of highest dignitaries of the Church, all uniting to condemn the encroachments of the new art, and at the same time anxious to preserve the Gregorian chant in its true form and true sacred meaning, — in short, as the hierarchical musical art *par excellence*, — were powerless to stem the mighty stream of harmonic form that impressed a new life on music. This new art-form was founded and grew strong on the basis of the most sacred element of the liturgy, — the Gregorian chant; and by means of the skill and inventiveness of those inspired minds, the great masters of the sixteenth century, it imparted to that very element a power and intensity of true sacred expression, an ideal meaning far more effective and touching than that it possessed in its simple and slender garb. Then music became fit and ample enough to fill those mighty arches of heavenward-reaching Gothic domes. The minds that created those domes, as the ideal of the architectural aspirations of the Germanic tribes that had embraced the Christian religion, created and perfected also the tone-material based upon the art of harmonic construction. Like the Gothic architect, so the Christian composer conceived an art-form and art-practice entirely different from those of the ancient world as represented by Greek art. The rules of the new tonal art were as complicated, subtle, and ingenious as those of Gothic architecture, and very often just as fantastical if not grotesque.

There is no doubt that the new sacred musical creations, when connected with the pompous rites of the Catholic service, proved eminently impressive and captivating to the religious mind. But it was now, to a great extent, "art for art's sake," interpreting the

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sacred words according to its own laws, in order to satisfy both the composer's sense of æsthetical beauty, and his endeavor for deep, sacred, emotional expression. Nay! in those old church compositions there occur portions of musical construction, where the tone-material seems to drop the positive word, and soar on its own purity of musical expression to the ideal heights of a heavenly atmosphere. Music learned to speak its own divine language; the soul seemed to float on the ethereal waves of divine dreams, anticipating that rest and glory in paradise which is the end of the longing of Christian pilgrims. Music, like all the arts, traces its first artistic beginning to its connection with the religious life of man. On the basis of this sacred emanation of the human soul, music gained strength and nobleness of aim, which, in the course of its first attempts at formal embodiment, prevented it from becoming superficial and vulgar; and thus, tracing its origin to religion, it also deposited on the altar of this elevated goddess the first ripe fruits of its artistic existence.

But in order to have the masses, motets, psalms, hymns, etc., as set by the composers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, sung during divine service in the artistic manner conceived by those masters, well-trained choirs and singers were needed; for, as long as the Roman-Catholic religion was supreme everywhere, the people participated in the liturgical service as recipients, not as actors. Thus Catholic church-music, the growth of Christian emotional life, displayed its own richness and life wholly in accordance with surrounding religious ceremonies; lending, at the same time, an ideal splendor and religious expression to

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these ceremonies, unknown to the temple-service of the old civilized nations.

The first great epoch, one of the most important, one of the most remarkable, in the history of music, is that of the development of the different forms of sacred music. Among these, the *mass* (*missa solemnis, missa brevis, missa pro defunctis*) occupies the foremost rank. The form of the mass, which gradually grew up by the side of, and in accordance with, the form and idea of the sacred rites as organized and accepted by the rising Roman-Catholic Church, became the great central point of Christian musical expression, the embodiment of the rich and beautiful liturgy of a great church; it gained the importance of an ideal sacred drama, representing, for the edification of devout Christians, the sentiments of adoration, faith, hope, elevated joy and happiness, entire submission to the will of a forgiving Father, humble prayers for strength and help so needful in the hours of adversity, sorrow, and death; and also, in an ideal sense, that mysterious symbol of the sacrifice of Christ, in order to remind the penitent Christian of that divine act, when the Son of God suffered death for the sins of man, and became the Saviour of despairing and disheartened humanity. Thus the mass, considered in its highest ideal conception, became the musical vehicle of the noblest religious feeling and emotions of Catholic congregations; all the different forms, from the simplest Gregorian chant, as first intoned in the early Church, up to the richest, most complicated contrapuntal structures, were, in the course of centuries, made subservient to a great religious ideal. Although the text of the mass is simple, and, comparatively speaking, comprises only a few Latin

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sentences, yet so deep and rich are its musico-emotional suggestions and religious sentiments — lending expression and power to every individual shade of feeling — that it seems almost inexhaustible. Who can enumerate the vast number of masses written in all styles, all forms, since harmonic art first gained artistic merit under the hands of William Dufay (beginning of the fifteenth century), up to the great Missa Solemnis (Graner Festmesse) by Franz Liszt? A Catholic author, M. J. D'Ortigue, speaking of the ceremony of the mass as performed in simple Gregorian chant, says, —

"According to our opinion, a mass in plain-song, with its divers parts, the procession, and grave chants, interspersed by long silent pauses which accompany it in its majestically measured steps around the nave; the *Introit*, which during certain ceremonies was three times repeated, and which is followed by a psalm-versicle and the *Gloria Patri;* the *Kyrie*, the orisons of the priest; the *Gloria*, the chant of the epistle by the sub-deacon; the *Gradual*, followed by the *Alleluia* and the *Tract;* the *Prose*, if the festival gives occasion to its use; the chanting of the gospel by the deacon; the *Credo*, which formerly was chanted simultaneously and alternately by the two choirs, or rather by the whole congregation, since it was the confession of faith, the universal symbol, the adherence to the catholic dogma by all the faithful; the *Offertorium*, sung by the choir; the *Preface*, a magnificent chant, preceded by an imposing dialogue between the voice of the priest and the voices of the people; the *Sanctus*, the *Pater*, by the celebrant; the *Agnus Dei*, by the choir; the *Communio* and *Post-Communio*, also by the choir; the last orison by the celebrant; and the *Ite, missa est*, by the deacon, — all these form an admirable, harmonious *ensemble*, and — why not use the expression? — an elevated spectacle, where the beauty of the ceremonies, the significance of the rites, the measure of the motion, the arrangement of the action, added to the richness of the ornaments, the magnificence of the costumes, the thousand lights in the sanctuary, the grandeur

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of the edifice, the perfumes of incense, the strong accents of the melodies, unite in one sublime scene."

And around the form of the mass, smaller ones, in their way not less beautiful and effective, are grouped; such as the motet, the psalm, the hymn, the Stabat Mater, the Te Deum, the Lamentations, etc., — every one expressing new shades of religious emotion and feeling. No other church is so rich in noble and appropriate sacred musical works as the Roman-Catholic. But it also must, unfortunately, be said, that in no other church have a pure, sacred taste and propriety been so often and so flagrantly sinned against as in the Catholic Church. Time and time again were light, frivolous, insipid, if not immoral strains, substituted for the truly religiously inspired efforts of those composers who devoted the best gifts of their genius to the service of God. (Ex. IV.)

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CHAPTER VII.

MUSIC IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

When the desire for religious freedom and simpler religious rites, more in accordance with the practice of the first disciples of Christ's teachings, began to move many an earnest mind, in Germany, to struggle for the possession of these principles, music was again claimed as a handmaid to religion. But in order to reach the people, and to afford the congregations that united under the leadership of the Reformists an opportunity of joining with their voices in the singing of hymns and psalms, music had to descend from its high pedestal, and to become, as in the first centuries of Christian religion, again the naïve, simple, sacred people's-song. It was not banished from the new Church, but it was made to take a more subordinate position: the words of the hymn were not to be obscured by a too rich display of harmonic (contrapuntal) arts. It was to be again purely melodious, the spontaneous outburst of the religious feeling of the mass of the people. The Latin, the hierarchical language of the Church, was sanctioned and tenaciously upheld for the use of the liturgical part of the Catholic divine service. The people of Germanic races were, of course, unacquainted with that language: the part they were able to take in the service of these liturgical rites was, therefore,

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very small: they witnessed the outside ceremonies, but a closer understanding of their spiritual meaning was hidden from them. A silent presence was all that was required from the congregations: they might pray silently and sing in their hearts, but only the priest could be allowed to intone sacred songs, and thus to influence and elevate the assembled people. In Germany the people were only allowed to sing, at certain festivals, the short Kyrie Eleison, "Lord, have mercy upon us;" in the course of time this short sentence became the burden of different sacred as well as secular people's-songs, and even of the song of soldiers going to battle. Once in a great while we find recorded in history, that some large-minded, earnest, pious monk made attempts at explaining to the ignorant people the meaning of religious practice as founded on Holy Writ: we even find that efforts were made to translate some psalms or hymns into the people's language, in order to satisfy their religious longing, and to attract them more earnestly to the Church by awakening their interest by means of an active, intelligent co-operation. But all these attempts remained without fruit. The Roman hierarchy did not wish to have the form of religious service changed by means of any outside element; and thus the people were excluded, as before, from any active participation in the musical part of the service. But the people created their own sacred songs, on the very basis of the Gregorian melodies, and these songs were sung at processions and festivals outside of the Church. Thus the spiritual life of men, though shackled for a time, will eventually work out its own existence, and gain freedom in unforeseen directions; for there is no doubt that the religious sentiments laid

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down in these early German sacred songs prepared the people to receive and understand the religious mission of the first Reformers. Many of the sacred songs, that owe their origin to the darkest days of the times before the great Reformation, afterwards became favorites with the Protestants, and served as models even to Luther and his collaborators.

Luther loved music dearly, and cultivated it at home as a means of recreation and as an element of artistic edification. In his youth, while a poor student, he sung — as was then the custom in Germany — motets and part-songs, in company with his schoolmates, before the houses of the rich, in order to earn money. He was also a good performer on the flute and the lute. "I am not of the opinion," said he, "that through the gospel all arts should be banished and driven away, as some zealots want to make us believe; but I wish to see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who gave and created them." In his transformation of the Roman liturgical service into one he judged better fitted for the German churches, he proceeded with great caution and moderation. He did not at once banish every part of the Latin mass. In his arrangement of the German liturgical service he admitted the greater part of the Latin mass; and the songs for certain festival-days were to be sung in Latin, until a sufficient number of arrangements with German words could be acquired. "We are still," said he, "at the beginning of the great work, therefore every thing that belongs to it is not yet prepared." And in order to provide the new Protestant churches with suitable hymns, he not only translated and paraphrased some of the most beautiful old Latin hymns, but also wrote new

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ones, and, at the same time, asked others to contribute sacred songs, in order to promote the welfare of the new religious movement. The German followers of Luther's teachings received these new songs with great avidity: they were no more excluded from the immediate exercise of the liturgical service. The chants of the priest were now uttered in a language familiar to them: the hymns that now formed part of this service appealed to their religious understanding in suitable sacred word and tone. The Protestant Christian found in those songs edification, consolation, and that inner moral strength so necessary in those times of trial and persecution. These Protestant hymns, like true songs of liberty, flew from mouth to mouth, thus preparing the way for the re-conquered gospel, so long forbidden to those for whom it was intended. So great were the power and influence of the hymns of the new Protestant churches in Germany, that the Catholic Church found it advisable to adopt some of them, or to arrange new hymn-books for the use of its own congregations. The great epoch of the Reformation opened a new and vast horizon to the human spirit, which now greeted, in the most exalted tones, the light that chased the great darkness which had hung so heavily over the nations.

Many of the tunes of the new Protestant Church were derived, with appropriate changes, from the great stock of the Catholic liturgy, the Gregorian chants and melodies; others were popular people's-songs, of which the words even were paraphrased, and included in the hymnal. Luther is credited with the composing of a few hymn-tunes. The composer John Walter, whose counsels in musical matters the great reformer often asked, gives the following characteristic account of a

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meeting he had with Luther, with regard to the arrangement of the German mass.

"I know and testify [says Walter] that the holy man Luther, who was the prophet and Apostle of the German nation, loved music with great reverence. I past with him many a sweet hour in singing, and I often saw the dear man, while singing, growing of so frolicsome and cheerful a mind; and he was not to be tired of singing, and he knew how to speak of music in such a beautiful manner. Forty years ago, at the time he endeavored to establish the German mass, he invited Conrad Rupp and myself, to come to Wittenberg, in order to discuss with us the form of the choral [church-song] to be adopted; he then even sung to me, and asked my advice about, the notes he had set himself to the Epistles, the Gospels, and to the words of the Holy Communion. He kept me with him at Wittenberg three whole weeks, in order to write the tunes to several Gospels and Epistles, until the first German mass could be sung in the church. I had to listen attentively, and then to take a copy of this first German mass, and present it, at the doctor's request, to the Elector of Torgau. At the same time, he ordered the setting of simple hymn-tunes for the use of youth and to be sung during vespers, which, at this time, had been done away with in many places; he also requested Latin hymns, antiphonals, and responsarios to be composed for those poor students who were obliged to sing, for their daily bread, before the houses of the rich, and he was not pleased to have them sing only German songs. Those, therefore, who wish to banish all Latin Christian hymns, and who think it not to be good Lutheran or evangelical art to sing Latin choruses in church, are not to be commended or justified. Again, it will be unjust to sing nothing but Latin hymns; for the congregation, the common people, will derive no benefit from this. The spiritual German, pure, old Lutheran hymns and psalms are therefore best fitted for the common people, while the Latin songs behoove for the practice of the youth and learned."

The Protestant Church, however, did not accept the form of the mass as used in the Catholic Church:

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only the Kyrie and Gloria, as *missa brevis*, are sung in some of the larger city churches.[1]

The German Protestant hymn-tune — the choral, as it is called — grew out of the Gregorian melody. But by means of accepting, at the same time, many of the popular melodies of the secular as well as of the sacred people's-songs, a new enlivening element entered into it. That Luther appreciated the beauty of the Gregorian chant, the many fine melodies he derived from that rich source prove. But in studying the wants of the people, whom he endeavored to make the principal participators in the Protestant service, he found that the most effective form of the hymn-tune already existed. He carefully gathered and arranged for church use those melodies, secular and sacred, which through past years had become dear to the people. These melodies, when associated with the earnest, powerful, deeply religious sentiment of Luther's German hymns, proved a mighty means in the hands of the Reformers. Although Luther intended these melodies to be sung in unison, yet he was too much of an artistic temperament to exclude all harmonic art. He was very fond of the motets as composed by Josquin des Près, Senfle, and others: it was therefore with his approval, if not at his suggestion, that early Protestant composers arranged the choral melodies as part-songs, and even transformed them into the form of motets. The chorus was not yet banished from the Church, though its co-operation during church-service was a subordinate one. While the congregation sung the melody in unison, the chorus accompanied it in the form of a richer but appropriate harmonic development. The former manner

[1] See Bach's Four Masses, published by the Bach-Gesellschaft.

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of placing the principal melody, as a *cantus firmus*, in the tenor, was still adhered to by the first Protestant Church composers; but in this way the melody did not stand out in all its distinctness, and thus often created confusion. Later composers assigned it to the highest, and in a melodic sense more dominant part, — the soprano. Though we shall find that even the German choral, of an effective, majestic rhythm at first, lost much of this enlivening element, and notes of equal length follow each other in a clumsy, monotonous rhythmical progression, yet these beautiful old sacred melodies possess a charm and a grandeur unreached by any modern effort. With the advent of the Reformation, as headed by Luther, German sacred musical cultivation received a powerful impulse. The leaders of the Lutheran churches were not afraid that music, *as an art*, would interfere with their religious work: they understood its spiritual meaning, and allotted it an appropriate place in the Church as a sacred people's-song, exciting at the same time the inventiveness of the composer, to create new melodies, or to make the old melody the enlivening *motif* of rich harmonic structural development. The result of this broad-minded appreciation of music, as a sacred art, may be seen in its glory in the works of Eccard, H. Schütz, J. S. Bach, and Handel. Thus these German Reformists, by their wise encouragement of music, laid the foundation of a great original German school; and thus said Luther in praise of music: —

"When natural music [simple people's-music] is polished and rendered effective by means of art, then one sees and recognizes, with deep admiration, God's great and perfect wisdom revealed in his wonderful work, *Musica*, in which that, above all, appears

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peculiar and remarkable, when one sings a simple tune as tenor [or *cantus firmus*], while three, four, or five other vocal parts move and skip around this simple tune, in a joyful mood, and with manyfold sound, embellishing and beautifying it in a most charming manner: dancing, as it were, in heavenly sport, meeting and greeting each other heartily and beautifully. The one who is not moved by such an art-work resembles a coarse log, and does not deserve to hear such lovely music, but the wild incoherent braying of the *choral*, or the song of dogs and swine."

We know Luther was very outspoken. (Ex. V.)

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CHAPTER VIII.

MUSIC IN THE GENEVAN (CALVINIST) CHURCH.

In the church-service of the *Calvinists*, music became reduced to its most simple form of expression. The tunes which Calvin adapted to be sung to the metrical translations or arrangements of the psalms are also partly formed in imitation of the form of some Gregorian melodies, and partly derived from people's-melodies. But according to the more rigid and exclusive sense that became prevalent in the Calvinistic Church, with regard to art in general, these psalm-tunes, once accepted, were not to be changed, neither were new melodies allowed to be set to the psalms. The historical facts concerning the psalter of the Calvinists are the following: Clément Marot, a French poet of great merit, and at the same time highly admired for his elegant secular poems, was induced by the learned Vatable to versify the psalms. Vatable, professor at the newly founded Royal College at Paris, explained the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Marot, greatly assisted by Vatable, at first translated thirty of the psalms, which he published at Paris in 1542: these he dedicated to Francis I. Marot, however, did not follow the order in which the psalms stand in the Bible: he simply translated and versified those that struck his fancy. These metrical arrangements were

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much admired by Francis I. and his court, and became very popular. The Crown Prince Henry (afterwards Henry II.) was passionately fond of singing these psalms. He often had musicians to accompany him with the lute, the viol, the flute, and the spinet; and any person coming to see him had to join with him in singing. All sorts of popular tunes were adapted to Marot's versification of the psalms. Prince Henry sung to the forty-second ("As the hart pants") a hunting air; Diane de Poitiers, the one hundred and thirtieth to a dance-tune; the Crown Princess, Catherine de Medicis, chose the sixth psalm, and united it to the air of a comic song; Anthony of Navarre adapted to his favorite, the forty-third, the air of a people's-dance.

Marot, soon after the publication of the above thirty psalms, found it prudent to leave the French court: he was suspected of being an adherent to the Reformists' teachings. From Paris he went to Geneva, where, probably at the suggestion and with the encouragement of the great reformer Calvin himself, he versified twenty more (that is, nineteen psalms and the canticle of Simeon). Thus the number of psalms was brought to fifty; which appeared in print in 1543, with a dedication by Marot to the ladies of France. Another edition of these psalms, prepared for the use of the Genevan Church, appeared a few weeks before the above, accompanied with a remarkable preface by Calvin, on church-song: I shall afterwards give some parts of it. The following year Marot died.

After Marot's death, Théodore de Bèze, Calvin's friend, and professor of Greek at Lausanne, was induced to translate and versify the remaining hundred psalms; and in 1560 appeared the complete psalter, as

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translated by Clément Marot and Th. de Bèze, under the title, "Les Pseaumes de David mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze." This version of the psalter, Calvin adopted as the congregational sacred song-book of the reformed (Calvinistic) church. The tunes to be sung to these psalms were, according to Calvin's strict views with regard to church-music, in single parts, unison: and to the musician William Franc has been attributed the merit of having either composed or arranged them; this, as we shall see, was an error. William Franc (Le Franc), who until recently was considered a native of Strasbourg, hailed from Rouen, and settled at Geneva in 1541, where he opened a music-school. He was also connected with the Church, as precentor of St. Peter. In 1545 he left Geneva on account of the small salary (one hundred florins) awarded him by the city council for his labors, and settled in Lausanne. Here he came in contact with Th. de Bèze, who probably engaged him to set melodies to his versification of the psalms. In 1565 Franc published an edition of the psalms sung at the church of Lausanne. In the preface to this edition Franc says, "I have chosen the best songs already in use in this as well as in other reformed churches. Regarding those psalms lately translated, and which were sung to the melodies of the first psalms, I have, according to my little knowledge, adapted a melody to each." Thus some of the tunes, as sung at Lausanne, were arranged by Franc, and differed from those as sung at Geneva. But in course of time the melodies, as accepted by the Genevan Church, superseded those as sung at Lausanne; and with this Franc's tunes disappeared. It has lately been proved[1] that the psalm-tunes

[1] Douen, Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot.

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which are known as those of the reformed church, and harmonized by Goudimel, were erroneously attributed to W. Franc. He has no claims to any one of them. The finest and largest number of those tunes were arranged and adapted by another French musician, Louis Bourgeois; and the rest, by Maître Pierre, who was Bourgeois' successor at Geneva. Louis Bourgeois was born at Paris at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1541 he followed Calvin; and in 1545, after Franc's removal from that city, he was appointed precentor of St. Peter's. At first he seemed to give great satisfaction; since the city council accorded him the right of a citizen, as well as other small privileges. But some time later the council, at the request of Bourgeois to raise his salary, refused to do so, although Calvin himself interceded in the interest of the poor singer; and the council, at the reiteration of Bourgeois' demand, put him in prison under the charge of having changed the tunes of several psalms without a license. The tunes, for the introduction of which Bourgeois was put in prison, are some of the finest in the Genevan Psalter.

Bourgeois was an able contrapuntist. He harmonized many of the psalm-tunes; but when endeavoring to introduce them into the Church, Calvin and the other members of the church government were strictly opposed to it. Calvin, as we shall see hereafter, emphatically prohibited part-singing from church-service. Bourgeois, disgusted at this inartistic, narrow tendency on the part of the Genevan Church, left Geneva in 1557, and returned to Paris, where he disappeared. He arranged and partly composed eighty-three melodies; and Maître Pierre, forty. The tune of the "Old Hundredth" is due to Bourgeois, who adapted

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it from a popular air of the fifteenth century. The tune in the Genevan Psalter is set to the one hundred and thirty-fourth psalm. The four-part harmonization, as now universally sung in this country, is based on T. Playford's three-part arrangement, as first found in his "The Whole Booke of Psalms," of which I shall speak hereafter.

The Genevan Psalter, as versified by Marot and de Bèze, and sung to the tunes as arranged by Bourgeois and Pierre, became afterwards the liturgical song-book of the Reformed churches. The version of Marot and de Bèze had, in course of time, gradually to give way to the more modern literary requirements and views of the French Reformed church; but the tunes have mostly remained. Nearly all the divers translations in other tongues have been made in order to enable them to be sung with those French tunes. At present, however, even these noble melodies have mostly been discarded, and replaced by the weak, sentimental fabrications of half-educated music-teachers and organists. Conservatism in this case would have been far preferable to a change which destroyed something that was noble and appropriate. Marot's versified translation of the psalms, which had become so popular in France, as soon as Calvin had adopted them for a part of his church-service were strictly prohibited by the French Catholic clergy; and the singing of these psalms exposed those who indulged in it to the suspicion of leaning towards the heretical teachings of the Genevan Reformers, and afterwards to relentless persecution. But the prohibition on the part of the Catholic Church was the means of making the singing of Marot's psalms still more popular with the Reformists, and to attract to their church a great many proselytes.

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Calvin's views regarding church-music, as expressed in the above-mentioned preface to an edition of Marot's versification of some of the psalms, are the following: —

"Prayer has a double meaning, — petition in a narrow sense, and song. St. Paul, moved by the Holy Spirit, recommends both; and both were at all times practised in the Church. The power of music to awaken spiritual joys is well known. Of all gifts with which the Creator has blessed man, to serve him as a recreation and comfort, music may be regarded as the first, or at least one of the most elevated. It possesses a mysterious power of moving the heart; but as it is capable of doing this in an evil as well as in a good way, one has to take great care not to profane this precious gift of God by means of misusing it, for then it changes into a mortal, soul-destroying, nay, a diabolical poison. With regard to singing, two things must be observed, — the subject-matter and the melody. One must be careful to see that the first of these be not alone harmless, but also holy; that it be the means of inviting to prayer in praise of God, and that, in seeing his world, we be moved to love, to fear, to honor, to magnify him. Now, according to St. Augustinus, one cannot sing that which is worthy of God unless we have first received it from him. Therefore one cannot find more worthy songs than the psalms of David, which the Holy Spirit has revealed to the singer. We may be sure, in singing these, that God himself put the words in our mouths, and that he is singing in us, as it were, to magnify his glory."

Thus we see that Calvin understood the power of music very well, and that he knew well how to appreciate its importance in connection with divine service. But in his apprehension of having too rich a display of musical art, liable to confuse the desired distinctness and understanding of the sense of the psalms to be sung, he simplified and fixed its forms; and the tunes, like the words of the psalms, were to remain unchangeable. This exclusive preference for the psalter exclud-

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ed, ~~of course~~, all attempts at composing new hymn-tunes. This stern adherence to the psalms and tunes once accepted as belonging to sacred worship, afterwards guarded the Reformed church against the introduction of frivolous and meaningless ballad and operatic tunes.

In the Genevan Psalter there are less tunes than psalms: several of these are to be sung to the same melody. Calvin insisted on congregational singing. "Those songs and melodies," says he, "which are composed for the mere pleasure of the ear, and all they call ornamented music and songs for four parts, do not behoove the majesty of the Church, and cannot fail greatly to displease God." But in spite of this narrow view, artistic ingenuity was not to be entirely excluded. French composers, such as Philibert, Jambe-le-Fer, Bourgeois, Goudimel, Claudin Le Jeune, enriched the psalm-tunes with harmonic art. Bourgeois published in 1561, at Lyons, eighty-three of the psalms set to four, five, and six parts. The labors of Goudimel and Claudin Le Jeune were of great importance.

Claude Goudimel, born about 1510 in the neighborhood of Besançon, became one of the finest contrapuntists of the Gallo-Belgian school. In 1540 he went to Rome, where he established a music-school: Palestrina, among others, was one of his pupils. About 1555 he established himself in Paris, where he became converted to the Reformed church. He was killed at Lyons, St. Bartholomew's Night, Aug. 14, 1572, and his corpse thrown into the Rhône. Besides masses, motets, and chansons, he published in 1565 the complete psalter of Marot and de Bèze, with the tunes as accepted by the Genevan Church, and set by him for four voices. The

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tune, according to the general custom of the time, is assigned to the tenor, with the exception of a dozen melodies that appear in the soprano. The harmonic arrangement is, in general, simply homophonous, that is, note against note; only here and there the close of a strophe is marked by a suspension. Goudimel says himself, regarding this part-setting of the psalm-tunes, "In this little volume we have added three parts to the melody of the psalms, not for the purpose to have them sung in church, but for the enjoyment of God at home." Calvin, as we have seen above, would not have allowed such an arrangement to be used during church-service. Goudimel's four-part arrangement became very popular, so much so that later historians credited him also with the creating of the tunes. Marot and de Bèze' psalms appeared in 1573 at Leipzig, translated into German by Ambrosius Lobwasser, with the melodies as harmonized by Goudimel: this translation with its tunes also found its way into the Dutch reformed churches.

The other most important harmonization of the tunes of the Calvinistic psalter is the work of Claudin Le Jeune of Valenciennes, one of the ablest French composers of this epoch. Claudin's harmonization was published by his sister Cécilie in 1601, the year after his death: this arrangement is in simple counterpoint for four voices, and some twelve for five voices. Le Jeune's setting of the psalm-tunes had much success. Though other composers tried their hands at the harmonization of the psalm-tunes, Goudimel's and Claudin Le Jeune's settings were considered as models. These two contrapuntists have since been held up by historians as the most prominent composers — the classics — of the Huguenot Church. (Ex. VI., VII., VIII.)

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NOTE. — The following two editions of the Genevan Psalter in my possession are not mentioned, either in Bovet's bibliography of "Histoire du Psautier des Églises Réformées," or in that of Douen's "Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot."

"Les Psaumes de David, mis en rime françoise, par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze. À Amsterdam, chez Henri Desbordes, dans le Kalverstraat, M.DC.XCIX."

"Les Psaumes de David, à quatre parties. Mis en Vers françois, revûs & approuvez par les Vénérables Classes du Pays de Vaud, & augmentés, des Cantiques Sacrez. Pour les Principales Solemnitez des Chrétiens, & sur divers autres sujets. Avec une nouvelle instruction pour apprendre facilement la Musique des Psaumes. À Berne, dans l'Imprimerie de L. L. E. E., M.DCC.XXI."

The four-part setting of the above edition is transposed, and accords with that of Sulzberger.

The spiritual songs of my Sulzberger, ed. 1767, are entirely different from those of the original Genevan Psalter.

Dr. Rimbault says somewhere, that an original edition of Goudimel's four-part setting was bought by an American book-collector. Although I have made many inquiries in order to discover the possessor of this extremely scarce edition, I have, so far, not succeeded.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE ENGLISH CATHEDRAL-SERVICE.

After having thus reviewed musical practice as adopted by the three leading religious denominations of the Continent, — viz., the Roman-Catholic, the Lutheran, the Reformed, — and having also examined the principles which led the different churches to introduce, according to the form of their liturgy, a rich or a simple form of sacred song, let us now turn our attention to the cultivation of sacred song as adopted by the different religious denominations of England. As these English churches were all at first more or less influenced by Continental church practice, we therefore shall find that they had many views, regarding church-music, in common with those of the Continental churches. And since these different European churches — the English as well as those of the Continent — are represented in the United States, this historical review will enable us to appreciate the artistic aim and merit of the musical practice of those American churches; the form of the liturgy of each respective American church having been copied from some European model.

We know that before the Reformation there was only one church, and the musical liturgy was of course, in every country, of the same form. With the Refor-

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mation, the unity of the Church was split into different denominations; every one admitting into its liturgy such changes as were agreeable to the views of its government. In England the Reformation began to take hold during the reign of Henry VIII. Whatever the motives may have been that induced Henry VIII. to bring about a rupture with the Church of Rome, music in the English Church during his reign underwent no material changes, except that in some parts of the service the English language was substituted for the Latin. Henry himself lent his assistance to this end, and is said to have translated certain prayers, litanies, and processions. The alterations which were made in the mass were so inconsiderable and slight that there was, at first, no need of reprinting either the missals, breviaries, or other offices. It seemed, that, at the king's desire, Archbishop Cranmer himself first adjusted the translation of a litany to a chant. He says, —

"The judgment I refer wholly to your Majesty, and after your Highness has corrected it, if your Grace commends to me devout and solemn note to be made thereunto (as is to the procession which your Majesty has already set forth in English), I trust it will much excite and stir the hearts of all men to devotion and gladness. But, in my opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly. . . . Wherefore I have travail'd to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note into the same. Nevertheless, those that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in a Song."

However, among the English clergy, opinion was sharply divided with regard to church-music. While some recommended that "the sober, discreet, and devout singing, music, and playing with organs, used in

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the Church in the service of God, are ordained to move and stir the people to the sweetness of God's word, the which is there sung; and by the sweet harmony, both to excite them to prayer and devotion, and also to put them in remembrance of the heavenly triumphant Church, where is everlasting joy, continual laud and praise to God," — others, like the clergy of the Lower House in the province of Canterbury, protested against the "Fautes and Abuses" of religion, and declared that "synging and saying of mass, matins, or even-song, is but rorying, howling, whystlyng, mummying, conjurying, and jugelyng, and the playing at the organs a foolish vanitie." Thus the conflict with regard to the musical liturgy in the English Church was fairly opened, and the fierce struggle lasted over a century. Henry VIII. and his children protected, with all their royal authority and power, a choral service that issued from the former Catholic service; while the Dissenters and the Puritans would not be satisfied until every thing in music, bearing the least resemblance to the "popisch service," was entirely swept away.

The constitution of the choral (cathedral) service of the Episcopal Church of England requires an efficient choir of men and boys.

"We ordain and appoint [says a statute prescribed by the command of Henry VIII.] that those six priests, whom we call Minor Canons, as also the six Laick Clercks, and also the Deacon and Sub-Deacon, all of whom we have constituted daily to celebrate the praise of God in our church, be, as much as may be, learned, of good name, and honest conversation, and, lastly, that they be men of judgement in singing, which shall be approved of those who well understand the art of music in the same church."

A precentor, to whom the superintendence of the

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principal part of the church-service belonged, was appointed.

"We decree and ordain [says a statute], that, out of the Minor Canons, one elder or more eminent than the rest be chosen Precentor, whose office it shall be skilfully to direct the singing-men in the church, and as a guide to lead them by previous teaching, that their singing be not discordant. Him the rest shall obey."

Thus the precentor examined and superintended the chanters, fixed the service of the anthem for the week, and was responsible for the appointment of the choir-boys. On the greater festivals he intoned or commenced the church hymns. That important religious office, of regulating the church-music, was regarded, as it ought to be, worthy the personal superintendence of one of the chief dignitaries, who himself took part in its performance. These offices, created in the interest of a worthy musical celebration of the cathedral-service, were distinctly and especially endowed. The members of the choirs had houses and lands of their own, set apart for their special and perpetual use. Great care was taken to have the choir-boys not alone well trained in singing, but to give them, as far as possible, a classical education, in order to enable them, as men, to assume a becoming station in the holy brotherhood to which they belonged. Thus the Church of England, while retaining a choral service worthy the demands of a noble liturgy, wisely intended to have the clergy take a conspicuous part in its musical performance. To this end a considerable degree of musical proficiency was demanded of every member of the cathedral. Every lover of real church-music will find this provision an admirable and reasonable one; for as long as music, be it in ever so subordinate a form, is accepted as part

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of divine service, the person who, by means of his sacred office, is thus intimately connected with the appropriate regulations of church-service, ought to be able to possess the necessary understanding and knowledge of all the parts belonging to the liturgy. A knowledge of the subject will however show, that, notwithstanding the original intention of the founders of the English choral service, the clergy, sometimes out of indifference and ignorance, sometimes out of jealousy and egotism, allowed a sacred institution, which was once the just pride of a great church, to deteriorate in a miserable manner.

Queen Elizabeth, who loved splendor, and was deeply attached to the existing form of the choral service, sustained it with all her authority, and endeavored to render it more efficient. She even took peremptory means in order to secure choir-boys with good voices. Here is a warrant sent out by her:—

"Whereas our Castle of Windsor hath of old been well furnished with singing men and children, — We, willing it should not be of less reputation in our days, but rather augmented and encreased, declare that no singing men or boys shall be taken out of said Chapel by virtue of any commission, not even for our household chapel. And we give power to the bearer of this, to take any singing men or boys from any chapel, our own household and St. Paul's only excepted. Given at Westminster, the 8th day of March in the second year of our reign.

"ELIZABETH, R."

In her injunctions to the clergy, in which she declares her resolution to uphold the use of music during church-service, the following passage occurs:—

"She also willeth and commendeth, that there may be a modest and distinct song, so used in all parts of common prayers of the church, that the same may be plainly understood, as if it were

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without singing, and yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in musick, it may be permitted, that in the beginning or end of common prayer, either morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and musick that may conveniently be devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be perceived or understood."

There is no doubt that the conflict regarding the admittance of choral music (cathedral-service) for divine worship was obstinate and fierce; and a sovereign less firm in purpose, and decided in action, might have been forced to accept the narrow views concerning music entertained by the great body of English Puritans, and the dignity and splendor of the English choral service would have been a thing of the past. Cartwright says (to quote one of the most violent opponents of the cathedral-service), —

"It hath no edification, according to the rule of the Apostle, but only confusion. They toss the psalms to and fro like tennis-balls. As for organs and curious singing, though they be proper for the Popish dens (by which I mean the Catholic church), yet some others must have them also. The queen's chapel, which should be a spectacle of Christian reformation, is rather a pattern of all kinds of superstition."

In a pamphlet published in 1556, and widely circulated, entitled "A Request of all True Christians to the Houses of Parliament," it is prayed, among other petitions offered up in a like spirit, "that all cathedral churches be put down, where the service of God is grievously abused by piping upon organs, singing, and trowling of psalms from side to side, with the squeaking of chanting choristers disguised (like all the rest) in white surplices; some in corner caps and silly copes,

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imitating the manner and fashion of Antichrist, the Pope, that man of sin, with all his other rable of miscreants and shovelings." Queen Elizabeth's endeavors to secure the cathedral-service a permanent form and existence as a national church were successful, notwithstanding the clamors of the many enemies of church-music that opposed her. Although in imminent danger of being done away with entirely during the great revolution, the choral service re-appeared, reorganized on its original basis. If, at a later time, it sunk from its former significance and splendor, it was not at the hands of its Puritanic enemies, but at the hands of those whose sacred duty it was to protect it against an unpardonable depreciation of its sacred character and meaning. Happily, England possessed, at this time, able composers, essentially fit to mould the new musical parts required by the liturgical form of the cathedral-service, as organized and established during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth.

"The same mental power and intellectual energy, which were so abundantly displayed in a variety of forms during this epoch, appeared conspicuously in its music. The splendid and ample choir of the Chapel Royal was the school in which the musical talent of the age was chiefly matured. To Tallis and Tye, the English fathers of the art, were speedily and successfully added Byrd, Farrant, Morley, Bull, Weelkes, Kirby, Farmer, Dowland, Bateson, Gibbons. These masters enriched the land from north to south, from east to west, with the products of their genius and industry. The race of voiceless and incompetent clergymen and priests was not then known; everywhere the choirs were filled with singers. Composers had leisure to write, for they had a competent maintenance: they had inclination to compose, for they loved their art." [1]

[1] The English Cathedral-Service.

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On this reasonable, and, indeed, only feasible basis, rested the choral service of the English cathedrals: on this basis, indubitable historical facts prove it must again be built, in order to come near its former grandeur and sacred liturgical meaning. The right and effective solution of the question of appropriate church-music, which agitates our Episcopal churches, can only be solved by accepting the principles of those who first organized the musical part of the liturgy. Mere sentimental exclamations with regard to the ideal beauty and efficacy of church-music, or poetical wishes presented in journals devoted to the affairs of the Church, will not help our clergymen out of the dilemma. Energetic action, based upon former experience, as well as an efficient understanding, is needful, and will alone prove successful in the end.

Now let us enumerate the opportunities, which, in the English cathedral-service, are offered to the composer, in order to be able to adorn it by means of his art, considered, of course, only in the light of religious fitness, and according to sacred traditions. But, in tracing the origin of the English choral service, I have been not a little astonished to find that even the most reliable, and apparently most sincere, of English Protestant writers on this subject, endeavor to ignore, notwithstanding all positive historical facts, the principal source of their musical liturgy. Now, in spite of all religious animosity, opposition, and hatred, it cannot be denied that all church-music (of the Occidental churches), from the simple chant to the most elaborate form of choral song, is invariably derived from the musical liturgy of the Roman-Catholic Church. From whatever source, anterior to its universal reign, the Roman

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Church may have received certain chants and hymns, we have absolutely no musical documents of such chants but those as formed and adopted by the heads of the Roman-Catholic Church. Some of these chants are said to be of Hebrew, others of Greek, origin. The broad-minded artist, whatever his religious belief and feeling may be, cannot afford, in order to gratify his religious predilections, to darken the principal source of modern musical art. To mention only two of the most meritorious writers on English musical liturgy, we find that both Latrobe and Jebb have endeavored to prove, with all the force of their rhetoric, that the English cathedral-service is a direct continuation of the Jewish liturgy. Says Latrobe,[1] —

"By a comparison of the specimens of the alternate chant, which abound in our liturgy, with the choral practice of the Jews and early Christians, the mind is struck with the numerous coincidences existing between them, — all demonstrative of the high regard paid to antiquity, and the care with which its monuments have been preserved. The cathedral chanting of the Church of England possesses almost every characteristic of the Jewish music, and varies only in its enriching the meagre simplicity of the ancient mode from the abounding stores of modern harmony."

Dr. Jebb even thinks,[2] "that, when we find that the monologue of the Grecian drama was recited in a musical tone, we may surely believe that their practice was also taken from the Jews, among whom it subsists to the present day." Why not accept, as more plausible, that the Jews, as well as the Greeks, received their first musical notions from the Egyptians? for both of

[1] The Music of the Church.
[2] The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland.

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these nations went first to school in Egypt. Now, in spite of the constant efforts of many Protestant clergymen to give us a graphic picture of Jewish music, we know infinitely little of its real practice. It is supposed to have been antiphonal, and that certain musical instruments were used during service; but history fails to tell us in what manner, neither is it possible to point out with certainty a specimen of such a chant or melody as may have been used in the temple of Jerusalem. All the theory of Jewish temple-music rests on an illusion. The English cathedral-service is a continuation, more or less changed in certain parts, of the Roman-Catholic liturgy as established in England before the Reformation: its musical form and significance can be explained only on the basis of the liturgical musical practice of the Roman Church. David and his predecessors and successors had very little influence on it. The followers of Christ found their adherents among Jews and Gentiles: some of their former habits were often tolerated, or had to be used in a Christian sense, in order to attract others to the new religion. I have shown above, that even St. Chrysostom had to employ the same means as his opponents the Arians, in order to augment and keep his flock together. The Jews had, then, not much influence on the Græco-Roman people. And why should it be thought more important or more desirable to be the successors of a Jewish liturgical custom than of a Christian one? Historical facts cannot very well be set aside arbitrarily in order to gratify religious antagonism.

Next to the musical liturgy of the Roman-Catholic Church, the English cathedral-service is the richest in a musical sense. Ample provision was made, at an

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early epoch, for retaining as much of ~~this sacred art~~ (church-music) as might be a comfort and edification to the people. The principal feature of this — as well as of the Catholic service — is that sort of metrical song, called the chant, which forms the principal basis of the whole performance. These chants for the English Church were first arranged by Marbeck, who in 1550 published the "Booke of Common Prayer," containing the order of Morning and Evening Prayer, together with the office of the Holy Communion and the Burial Service. The music of Marbeck's Prayer-Book is simply plain-song, as selected from, or in imitation of, the Latin service-book. Some old Gregorian melodies and chants were simplified, and adapted to the English words of the liturgy, so that one note only came to be set for each syllable.[1] To all appearance, it was Marbeck's principal endeavor, as much as his task would allow him, to preserve or to imitate the tonal characteristics of the old Gregorian melodies and chants, and to gain, at the same time, an agreeable simplicity of form, and a desirable distinctness for congregational use. Marbeck has fulfilled his task so satisfactorily, that his "Booke of Common Prayer" still keeps its place in the service of English Episcopal churches. One of the ornaments, in a musical sense, of the English service, is the anthem: though other portions, like the Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat, etc., also received the careful attention of English church composers, to the anthem they seem to have devoted the best of their efforts. I have mentioned, in another place, the first great composers of anthems, as well as the close relation in which this form of English sacred music stands

[1] See Rimbault's edition of Marbeck's book.

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to the motet.[1] In fact, the form of the anthem grew out of the motet: the anthems of the composers before the Rebellion were motets. In the course of time the form of the anthem changed considerably: in some instances it assumed the importance of the sacred cantata, like some by Purcell and Handel. The different species of anthems are the full, the verse, the solo anthem.

"The full anthems are divided into two kinds, — those properly so called, which consist of chorus alone, and the full anthem with verses: these verses, however, which form a very subordinate part of the compositions, do not consist of solos or duets, but for the most part of four parts, to be sung by one side of the choir. In the verse anthem, the solos, duets, and trios have the prominent place. The style of the modern verse anthem did not become general in England till the time of the Restoration, though there are several by Gibbons of this character."[2]

The anthem is generally set to verses of the Psalms, or other portions of the Scriptures. The anthems have an accompaniment, either for the organ or the orchestra (small or large). It is in the anthems that the English musical spirit found one of its most artistic modes of expression; and the anthem is, on the whole, the most original style of English sacred music, the divers forms of which were the product of the ingenuity of English composers. To be sure, a great many weak, insipid fabrications, bearing the titles of anthems, have been published. But considering the great number of fine anthems, composed for all the different occasions the divine service of the English Church demands, — from Tye to our present composers, — we cannot understand the reason that prompts English organists to "adapt"

[1] Ritter's History of Music, 2d ed. [2] Jebb, The Choral Service.

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the music of the works of foreign masters to the English words of the liturgy, and arrange them as anthems. It is this mania of adapting and arranging, which, as I have already pointed out in another part of this book, has done great injury to English original productiveness. It accustomed the mind of musicians to easy, going work; and, instead of inciting it to creativeness-it promoted indifference and barrenness. This predilection for adapting and arranging musical forms, which, at the outset, are destined to an entirely different æsthetic purpose, early found its way into the New-England colonies, and for a long time played sad havoc with the finest works of the great masters. But this was not the only harm it did to musical culture: it also gave undue importance to a business which had a rather demoralizing effect on the understanding, appreciation, and growth of real musical art; it retarded and confused the judgment and taste of musicians and amateurs regarding the æsthetic value and meaning of the different structural forms. Such inartistic products — the "arranged" and "adapted" pieces — formed for a long time the main stock of the American music-dealer.

The anthem, the full service, and other liturgical pieces, written by English church composers, belong eminently to the English cathedral-service, for the sole use of which they were first invented and formed; and these forms claim, with right, an originality entirely in harmony with the traditions of the English Episcopal Church. The full service, as first composed by Tallis, was, no doubt, suggested by the form of the mass. But the different parts which enter into the form of a full service, such as the Te Deum, Benedictus, Kyrie Eleison, Nicene Creed, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis, do

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not receive such an elaborate development as the different parts of the mass. The contrapuntal treatment of the different movements of the full service is simpler than that of the mass; and even the anthem, the form of which is dictated by practical liturgical use, presents too limited a space for effective fugual development: yet some masters, like Blow and Purcell, introduced in their services very ingenious but short imitations and canons. The liturgical arrangement of the choral service cannot fail to impress, in the most favorable manner, the mind of a composer to whom musical art, in all its forms, is a matter of deep concern. An admirable inner unity connects the whole structure, admitting, at the same time, a desirable variety. It presents many fine opportunities for exercising the powers and imagination of a true church composer. And the admirable works of the composers of the Elizabethan age, as well as those of later English masters, — works upon which the stamp of classicism is imprinted, and which form the principal stock of the English national school of music, — give ample proof of what a true composer might do, when encouraged and appreciated by those whose business it ought to be to see that holy places are adorned by musical art-works, sacred in conception and meaning.

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CHAPTER X.

ENGLISH PSALMODY.

In England the metrical version of the Psalms became as much a favorite with the people as with the Calvinists. The singing of such psalms in public became customary among the Reformers, and could not fail to find its way into the churches. The English manner of versifying the psalms was, no doubt, due to an imitation of Marot's efforts. The metrical version, universally accepted by the English Reformers, is the "Whole Booke of Psalms, with apt notes to sing them withal," being the joint production of Sternhold and Hopkins, and which first appeared in print in 1562. These "apt notes," or church-tunes, were, as in the Genevan Psalter, simple melodies to be sung in unison. The whole number of tunes was forty, so that for several psalms the same tune had to be sung. Some of these melodies were taken from the Lutheran hymn-book and the Calvinist psalter: others seem to be of English, Scotch, and Welsh origin; they were probably people's ballad-tunes.

A year after (in 1563) the publication of Sternhold and Hopkins's "Booke of Psalmes," John Day put forth the whole book of Psalms, the melodies harmonized into "four partes, which may be sang to al musical instruments, set forth for the encrease of virtue, and abol-

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ishyng of other vayne and triflyng ballads." This was again printed in 1655, but without any material change. The four-part arrangement of these tunes was executed by such composers as William Parsons, Richard Brimle, Thomas Causton, Nicholas Southerton, John Hake, Richard Edwards, and Thomas Tallis. In 1579 John Day published "The Psalmes of David in English Meter, with notes for four partes set unto them by Guilielmo Damon;" a second edition of this appeared in 1591. A far more important publication of the psalms with the "church-tunes" harmonized for four parts is the one issued in 1592 by Thomas Este, "The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts. All which are so placed that foure may sing, each one, a several parte in this booke. Wherein the Church tunes are carefully corrected, and thereunto added other short tunes usually song in London, and other places of the Realme, etc., etc." The harmonization is in simple counterpoint; the "tune" is in the tenor, according to the general manner prevailing on the Continent at this epoch. This publication contains fifty-seven tunes, exclusive of those of the spiritual songs and hymns. To several psalms the same tune was adapted. That particular manner of distinguishing hymn-tunes by names, such as "St. Ann's," "Dundee," etc., used in English and Scotch "tune-books," seems to have originated with Este: Hawkins and Burney, and many other writers, have erroneously attributed this custom to Ravenscroft. Este's "Psalm-book" went through several editions. (Ex. IX.) In 1615 appeared Andrew Hart's "Scotch Psalter," containing only the simple melodies: this was republished in 1635,

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with the tunes harmonized into four parts. But the principal harmonized psalter, next to Este's, was Ravenscroft's publication, issued in 1621, — "The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes, Evangelicall, and Songs spirituall. Composed into 4 parts by sundry Authors, to such severall Tunes, as have beene and are usually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Netherlands; never as yet before in one volume published, etc." Thomas Ravenscroft was not alone a fine composer and skilful contrapuntist, but also a man of learning. He published many works which seem to have been held in high esteem by his countrymen. Among the "sundry authors," Ravenscroft's coadjutors, we find some of the finest masters of his time. Here is the list of these authors: Thomas Tallis, John Dowland, Thomas Morley, Giles Farnaby, Thomas Tomkins, John Tomkins, Martin Peirson, William Parsons, Edmund Hooper, George Kirby, Edward Blancks, Richard Allison, John Farmer, Michael Cavendish, John Bennet, Robert Palmer, Simon Stubbs, William Harrison, John Milton, William Crawford, Thomas Ravenscroft, William Cobbold, Edward Johnson, John Ward. England was then not wanting in learned, able composers.

The total number of distinct tunes — including the hymns and spiritual songs — contained in this psalter was ninety-eight. Some of the tunes are repeated and harmonized in various ways by different masters. The harmonization is set according to the rules of the ecclesiastical modes, then the universally accepted style. The parts, although written in simple counterpoint, generally note against note, flow in a free, melodious manner. To perform these part-settings in an appropriate

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style, experienced choir-singers were needed; and, according to the best information we possess regarding English musical matters at this epoch, such singers were then to be found in every church-choir. Probably Ravenscroft's as well as Este's publications of harmonized "church-tunes" were brought out with a view to home practice, as substitutes for the secular ballads and glees set to profane and often very vulgar verses. Ravenscroft's "Booke of Psalmes" passed, in the course of time, through several editions. (Ex. X.)

During the Revolution, psalmody, considered in the sense of church-music, did not experience, at the hands of the unmusical Puritans, any additions worthy to be mentioned. The old tunes were sung *unisono*, in the crudest and most inharmonious manner; and any attempt "to make music" was, no doubt, sternly repressed.

In 1671, when the former ability to sing at sight — an ability on which the educated Englishman of the Elizabethan time could with justice pride himself — was seldom to be met with, John Playford published a selection of the most familiar psalm-tunes, harmonized in a very simple manner, for four parts, and for men's voices only; the "tune" being still allotted to the tenor, the parts above this being the counter-tenor and the alto. But the new style of assigning the "tune" to the upper voice, as universally introduced in the practice of modern hymn-singing, assigning the melody a place less liable to create confusion during congregational singing, must have decided Playford to issue, in 1677, a new arrangement of the psalm-tunes, in which the melody was allotted to the soprano. But experience must have taught Playford that the most simple form

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of harmonization only could be of any practical use to his countrymen. His new arrangement of the "church-tunes" was written for three voices, and aimed at nothing beyond the veriest commonplace harmonies, which, in fact, were in keeping with the author's *savoir-faire* as a harmonist. (Ex. XI.) Playford's contribution to psalmody had, as we shall see, a great influence on the awakening of musical taste among New-England psalm-singers. From his musical publications the first American "Introductions to Singing" were gathered. The great agitation that was aroused, especially by the Dissenters, against every kind of musical practice during divine service, exercised a ~~still greater~~ influence on the clergymen of the different churches ~~than on musicians~~. These, as long as there was a royal court, found employment for the practice of their art, and especially in the great, rich metropolis of the kingdom, London. True, the interregnum of the Puritans put something of a stop to the musician's profession; but with the return of the royal family, music and musicians re-appeared, to resume their interrupted work. Those among the Reformists who had included in their programme the extirpation of music, succeeded so well that their parishioners entertained a deep prejudice against every thing musical. In some parts of the country, this prejudice assumed the proportions of a fanatical hatred of music to such a degree that even the simple psalm-tune was entirely dropped, and the people became as unmusical as if they had been uncivilized barbarians.

The pulpit-battles between those English ministers who favored psalmody and the playing of organs in church, and those who were opposed to such practice, were ~~indeed~~ very lively: sermons written and delivered

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in the interest of singing in church called forth sermons condemning it altogether. This agitation against an elaborate divine musical service began with the Reformation. I could fill many pages with records of conflicting views of friends and enemies of church-music, as expressed by English writers, both secular and clerical, since the Reformation began to influence English churches. One side, in numerous articles, books, pamphlets, and sermons, ransacked the Bible to prove that vocal as well as instrumental music is recommended, and even prescribed and sanctioned, by laws emanating from the holy inspirations of godly men; while the other, basing its arguments on the same formidable authority, endeavored to prove that music, even in the most rudimentary style, is distasteful to the Creator. The following quotation, taken from a sermon published a few years before the great Rebellion, will give us a glimpse into the vexed question. The sermon is entitled, —

"The Wel-Tuned Cymbali. Or A Vindication of the modern Harmony and Ornaments in our Churches. Against the Murmurings of their discontented Opposers. A Sermon occasionally preached at the Dedication of an Organ lately set up at Benton, in Sommerset. By Humphrey Sydenham, London, 1637."

The Rev. Mr. Sydenham took for his text the sixteenth verse of the fifty-ninth psalm, — "I will sing of thy power, yea, I will sing aloud of thy mercy, in the morning, because thou hast been my defence and my refuge in the day of my trouble." After having explained the meaning of the text, and put forth a justification of the use of music in church, our author goes on to say: —

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"Whosoever were the Author, whatsoever the time, whencesoever the example of beginning this custome of the Church of Christ, the practice was not less *ancient* than *devout*, nor devout than warrantable, having had acquaintance with the world since the first times of the *Gospel* above twelve hundred years, even by the consent and account of those who have sifted the Antiquitie and manner of it to the Branne, not so much to *know* as to deprave; and yet at last are enforc'd tacitely to assent, that all Christian Churches have received it, the best and wisest of God's Governors applauded it; and therefore not only without blemish or inconvenience, but with some addition of lustre and majesty to God's service, as having power to elevate our devotion more swiftly towards Heaven; to depresse and trample under foot (for the present) all extravagant and corrupter thoughts, rowzing and releeving those spirits which are drooping and even languishing in a solitary and sullen, and (oftentimes) a despairing heaviness; nay, the very Houmor that bruizes and beats into devotion those depositions which will not be otherwise suppled and made tender, but by power and virtue of those sounds, which can first ravish affections, and then dissolve to the heart."

But the author finds, that, in spite of this beautiful virtue of music, "there are some ears so nice and curious (I know not whether through weakness or affectation), to which this *Harmony* in the Church is no more passable than a Saw or a Harrow, which, instead of stroaking, draggs and tortures them." And speaking of another class of people, he says, —

"There are amongst us some anti-harmonicall snarles, which esteeme those bellowings in the Church (for so they bruitishly phras'd them) no better than a windie devotion, as if it cool'd the fervor of their zeale, damp'd the motions of the Spirit, clogg'd the wheeles of firy chariot, mounting towards Heaven; choak'd the livelihood and quiknesses of those raptures which on a sudden they ejaculate; when if they would wipe off a little those wilfull scales, which hang upon their eyes, they cou'd not but see the admirable virtues and effects which melody hath wrought even in that

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part of man, which is not sacred. Insomuch, that both *Philosophers* and *Divines* have jump'd in one fancie, that the soul is not only *naturally harmonicall*, but *Harmony itself.* And indeed, the whole course of nature is but a *Harmony;* the order of superior and inferior things, a melodious Consort; Heaven and Earth, the great *Diapason;* both Churches, a double Quire of *Hosannahs* and *Hallelujahs;* the world is the great Trumpeter of *Divine* Glory, *suave canticum*, as St. Bernard hath it, a sweet Song; a golden Verse; as if in Art and Consent both, it resembled both a Verse and a Song. Seeing, then, that the whole course of nature is but a Song, or a kinde of singing, a melodious concentation both of the Creator and the Creature: how can we conceive them to be lesse than prodigies, who, as if they distasted this generall harmony, revile that particular and more sacred in our Churches, not considering what wonderfull effects and consequences *Musicke* hath wrought both in expelling of eveil spirits, and calling-on of Good?"

Sydenham was an enthusiastic, sincere admirer of music. He attributed to it a great spiritual influence.

"Elisha, when he was to prophecie before the kings of *Judah* and *Samaria*, call'd for a Musician, and as he play'd, *the Spirit of God fell upon him.* And yet 'tis not a thing so strange as customary with God to work miracoulous effects by creatures, which have no power to themselves to worke them, or only a weake resemblance. What virtue was then in a few *Rammeshorns* that they should flat the walls of Jericho? or in *Gideon's* Trumpets that they should chase a whole Hoste of *Midianites? Digitus Dei hic*, the finger of God is there, and this finger oftentimes runnes with the hand of the Musician."

The raising of the "passions of the minde," by means of harmony, and why "the proportionable and equal disposition of sounds and voices, the tremblings, vibrations, and artificiall curlings of the ayre, the *Substance of all Musicke*, should so strongly set passions aloft, so mightily raise our affections as they doe," find an

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explanation in the following "foure manners of formes of motion:"—

"The first is sympathy, a naturall correspondence and relation between our divine parts and harmony, for such is the nature of our soules, that *Musicke* hath a certaine proportionable Sympathie with them, as our tastes have with such varieties and dainties, or smelling with such diversities of odours." . . .

"The second, Prudentiæ, God's generall providence, which, when those sounds affect the eare, produceth a certain spirituall qualitie in the soule, stirring up some passions or other, according to the varietie of sounds or voyces." . . .

"The third, more open and sensible, is *sonus ipse*, the very sound itselve, which is nothing else but an artificiall shaking and quavering of the ayre, which passeth through the eare, and by them into the heart; and there it beateth and tickleth it in such sort, that it is moved with semblable passions, like a calm water ruffled with a gale of wind: For, as the heart is most delicate and tender; so most sensible of the least impressions that are conjecturable; and it seems that *Musicke* in those Cells, plays with the animall and vital spirits, the only goades of passion, so that, although we lay altogether aside the consideration of Ditty and *Matter*, the very murmure of sounds rightly modulated and carried through the porches of our eares to those spirituall roomes within, is by a native vigour more than ordinarily powerfull, both to remove and moderate all affections." . . .

"The fourth, *Multiplicitas objectorum*, for as all other senses have an admirable multiplicitie of objects which delight them, so hath the eare: And as it is impossible to expresse the varietie of delights or distastes which we perceive by, and receive in them, so here varietie of sounds diversificate passions, stirring up in the heart many sorts of joy or sadness, according to the nature of the Tune, or temper or qualitie of the receiver. And doubtless in *Harmony* we may discover the misticke portraitures both of *Vice* and *Virtue*, and the mind thus taken with resemblances, falls often in love with the things themselves, insomuch that there is nothing more betraying us to sensuality, than some kind of Musicke; than other, none more advancing unto God. And therefore there must be a discreet caution had, that it be grave and sober, and not over-

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wanton'd with curiosities or descant. . . . The over-carving and mincing of the ayre either by ostentation or curiositie of art, lulls too much the outward sense, and leaves the spirituall faculties untouched, whereas a sober mediocritie and grave mixture of *Tune* and *Ditty* rocks the very soule, carries it into extacies, and for a time seems to cleave and sunder it from the body, elevating the heart inexpressably, and resembling in some proportions those *Hallelujahs* above, the Quire and unity which is in Heaven." . . .

Sydenham said admirable things in vindication of music as a sacred art. He even endeavored, in order to strengthen his position, to enter into the spirit and nature of music by the aid of philosophical analysis. Notice the manner with which he draws a distinct line of demarcation between secular and sacred styles and practice. But such efforts did not convince the enemies of art: musical culture was, in their eyes, doomed; it was banished. After the Restoration, people had forgotten that they had voices to sing with: they had acquired such an antipathy towards the exercise of this beautiful natural gift, that the singing of the simplest psalm-tune became an arduous task. The more liberal and cultured clergymen began to deplore this state of musical incapacity throughout the country churches. An important part of divine service had sunk so low that in many cases it seemed more desirable to have it cease altogether: the mode of singing the psalm-tunes had become a horror to sensitive ears. Those clergymen determined to find a remedy for the great evil. They began to fight the disease from the pulpit, in the lecture-room, in private conversation. Their sermons on "Singing in Church," on "Psalmody," were published, so that other congregations besides their own would be reached and influenced. Some clergymen possessing tolerably good musical knowledge wrote

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essays on psalm-singing, endeavoring to prove, by every word to be found in the Bible relating to music in divine worship, that the singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs was a sacred duty of Christians.

Among the designs devised by clergymen, in order to uphold the "late Attempts that were set on foot to teach the Art, and encourage the Practice," weekly lectures were delivered in the interest of church-singing. Such a course of lectures was published in London in 1708, entitled "Practical Discourses of Singing in the Worship of God: Preach'd at the Friday Lecture in Eastcheap." The little volume before me contains six such sermons, treating, 1. "Of the Nature of the Duty of Singing; 2. Arguments to prove the Obligation of the Duty; 3. Of the Excellence of Singing; 4. Objections against Singing considered; 5. Directions for the right Performance of the Duty of Singing; 6. Exhortation to Singing." The whole field of psalmody was touched upon in these essays. All those efforts greatly promoted a love for psalm-singing. But it would take too much space to quote from all these sermons: I shall restrict myself to the following characteristic passage relating to our subject. Mr. Waller, in his "Essay for Promoting Psalmody" (London, 1710), says in the preface, —

"To see this fairest Daughter of Devotion (Psalmody) and Darling of Protestants beyond the sea, so slighted amongst us, is not for our Credit; Our great Decay in Piety and Growth in profaneness having been imputed, by Eminent Divines (in no small Measure) to our Neglect of, and bad performance, in Psalmody."

In chap. ii., "Of the Usefulness and Good Effects

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of Psalmody," our author attributes to the use of psalm-singing most miraculous effects.

"Divine Musick commenced with the Creation, and in succeeding Ages has been honored with Signals of Divine Approbation: The *Israelites* sang in the Wilderness, and the Water-Spring Open'd; The Priests and Levites sang Praise in the Temple, and the Glory of the Lord fill'd the House; Jehosaphat march'd his Army singing, and return'd Triumphant, his enemies having slain one another. . . . In later and corrupted Times of Christianity, She was (in part Measure) Psalm sung into Reformation: Nor has any Thing more conduc'd to fix the Reform'd Religion.

"If you ask what Wonder this Charmer has wrought in Our own Age and Country, we have Instances that (under so general a Corruption of Manners and Deluge of Profaneness) may pass, if not for Miracles, yet at least subservient to the great Design of Miracles, viz., the Advancement of Piety, where she has any Footing left, the Revival of Religion where she seem'd to be expir'd. But this, indeed, must be understood where *Psalmody* herself has been Reviv'd and Improv'd to some Degree."

Now, Mr. Waller, in support of his position regarding the good effects of psalmody, cites the experiences of some divines with their congregations, where psalmody was at a distressingly low state. One says that in his "Country Parish, the Young Men that us'd to loiter in the Church-Yard, or Saunter about the Neighbouring Grounds, and not come into the Church, 'till the Divine Service was over, upon his ordering a Psalm to be sung before Prayers began, they came flocking into the Church, when, by this Means, he had 'em present both at Prayers and Preaching." Besides this moral influence psalm-singing thus exercised, another great good was promoted by it: "That through the Fondness of People for Psalm-singing, many have recover'd their Religion, which they had almost forgot, and many have learn'd

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to Read, for the sake of Singing Psalms, where it has been practis'd to some Advantage in the Performance." Thus, the once so much despised art of music now exercised the important function of an educator. Congregations only took to the psalms when they were offered in company with singing. The simple reading of those psalms alone had no attraction for the people.

Another minister tells his experience with his congregation as follows:—

"When I first came to my Parish, I found, to my great Grief, the people very Ignorant and Irreligious; the Place of Divine Worship indecently kept; the Publick Service neither understood, nor attended; the Ministration of the Lord's Supper supported only by the Piety of three or four Communicants, and the Divine Ordinance of Singing Psalms almost lain aside. Now, whilst I considered by what means I might redress this General Neglect of Religion, I was of Opinion, that the setting up of such a Religious society, as I had known in the city of London, would be very proper, but I fear'd it would be impracticable in the Country; so that at first, I began to teach three or four Youths the Skill of Singing Psalms orderly, and according to Rules, which greatly tended, through the Grace of God, to awaken their Affections towards Religion, and to give them a Relish for it. The Improvement of These in Psalm-singing, being soon observ'd by Others, many Young Men desir'd to be admitted to the same Instruction, which being granted, and the Number of them encreasing dayly" . . .

The farmers of another parish were won over to religion by the same "Gracious Artifice. At the ringing of the Bell they would leave their ploughs, and come to Church. Those who could not come, without extraordinary Inconvenience, would take the same signal of the Bell, to sing in the Field a Psalm or Hymn to their Creator or Redeemer." It was observed, that in

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"Churches where Psalms are best and oftenest sung, those Churches are always best filled." Many ministers of to-day pass through the same experience.

Dr. Charles Hickman, in "A Sermon preached Nov. 22, 1695, being the Anniversary Feast of the Lovers of Musick" (text, Ps. c. 1) very pertinently and beautifully remarks,—

"And here I am to prove the Decency, and Usefulness of Musick, in the solemnities of our Religious Worship. Only, by the way, we must needs complain of Hardship, which the Perverseness of this Age has put upon us, in requiring us to prove a thing, so manifest that there is nothing in nature more manifest to prove it by.

"That God is to be worship'd with solem Musick, is so ancient, and so universal an Opinion, that it may well be look'd upon as one of the prime Notions of a Rational Soul, one of the fundamental Laws of Nature, which, like the Worship of God itself, we receive not by Institution, but by Instinct: it was not inculcated in us by Education, but we suck'd it in at our very Birth, or rather it was Infus'd into us at our Creation.

"Indeed, there never was any Land so barbarous, or any People so polite (except some few Pretenders in these last, and worst of times), but have always approached their Gods with the solemnity of Musick, and expresst their Devotion with a Song; and wherever Musick goes out of fashion, there we may boldly pronounce, that Devotion also is growing out of Date. . . .

"We talk much of a *rational way of Worship;* and 'tis fit, indeed, that *Reason* should direct the Way, but *Worship* itself is an Act, not of our *Reason* but our *Affections.* 'Tis the Worship of an exalted Love; the out-goings of an inflam'd Desire; the breathings of a pious Soul in the Extasies of his Joy and Admiration.

"These are the noble Springs of our Devotion, the lively Elements that compose our Worship; and these are Tendernesses of our Nature, that lie not in the Head but in the Heart of Man; and these lie too deep to be reached, and too fine to be wrought upon by so gross a Faculty as Reason is.

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"But there is a Power in Musick that can reach them all, and touch them to the very quick: There is such a Charm in well-composed, well-animated Sound, as musters up all our Passions, and commands all our Affections to pay Homage to it; and no sensible Soul can withstand the Summons.

"The Philosopher, with his Gravity, may talk of our Passions, but never Move them, the Orator, with his Address, may Move, but never please them, and the Poet, with his Accuracy, may please, but yet not Commend them: all these Artists operate upon our Hearts, but at a Distance, only the Musician gets within us, and manages our Passions with an Arbitrary Power. When the Lute and Harp are touched with a skillful hand, it strikes upon the very Soul of Man, and by an immediate Sympathy, I had almost said, by a immediate Contact, makes the Heart-Strings leap for Joy.

"Nay, this is a Charm, that works not only upon our Affections, but upon our Understanding too; enlivens the Head, as well as the Heart, of Man, and opens our Ears, and our Eyes at once. When our Thoughts are involved in the dregs of Matter, and our Minds are obscured with the drowsiness and heaviness of Sense; Musick rouses up our Soul, and puts our Thoughts in motion; our very Reason *awakens with the Lute and the Harp;* and the Song, like some Divine Inspiration, calls up all our brighter Faculties to discharge their Office."

I have read many a page treating of the ideal meaning and function of music; but I have read nothing that establishes the emotional and intellectual parts of musical art, in my estimation, more correctly than Dr. Hickman's sermon, delivered at a time when the cultivation of music was at a low ebb, and æsthetic investigation regarding the art was not yet thought of. The following passage may well be commended to ministers of the gospel and church composers: —

"So instrumental is Musick [enthusiastically says our author] to all the uses of Religion, that it looks as if there could be no Religion without it. 'Tis a pleasure to the greatest Saint; and has

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an Influence upon the gravest Prophet; 'tis an Employment for a blessed Angel and an Entertainment to God himself. 'Tis the life of Heaven, and the Joy of all the ends of the Earth. In a word, 'tis so Humane an Excellency, that 'tis an Offence against Nature to suppress it; and so Divine an Accomplishment, that 'tis almost Blasphemy to disparage it.

"I do not say with the Heathen Poet that God loves not those, who have not Musick; not with the Jewish Doctors, that the Spirit of God rest not upon a Melancholy Soul; but this we say, that a melodious Constitution of Mind is one of the greatest Policities of our Natures and one of the Kindest Gifts of God, and therefore we ought to praise him for it, and to praise him with it too."

Thus psalmody, the outgrowth of the Reformation, assumed immense importance in England, and afterwards in New England. In the eyes of the Puritans, on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, the metrical arrangement of the Psalms, set to a plain adaptation of some simple melody, was all that was judged necessary in poetical and musical art. Burney, who detested psalmody as performed in English parish churches, was nevertheless forced to admit that

"The history of psalmody during these times is not only the history of music, but of the Reformation, in some parts of Europe where little else was to be heard, except these lamentable strains. . . . Indeed, Christians of all denominations now thought, that, by such metrical and musical devotion, they were performing a pious and salutary work; and, because it was amusing and delightful to themselves, that nothing could be more acceptable to the Divinity than these void effusions." [1]

In Germany psalmody (*das Kirchenlied*, or *der Choral*) created a new school of music. Protestant organists and composers based some of their finest contrapuntal

[1] H. of M., vol. iii. p. 61.

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settings upon the hymn-tunes. The richness and great variety in melodic form, the inexhaustible suggestions for harmonic and contrapuntal treatment, which the choral offered to earnest and skilful Protestant church composers, may be seen in the numerous sacred cantatas and organ-pieces written by German composers. The choral is such an everlasting source of inspiration, that even our ablest contemporary composers continually turn to it to gather new harvest. In England the same good results, in the interest of sacred music, might have been derived from psalmody, had not a misplaced fanaticism existed against music as an art. When psalmody was first introduced into English churches, skilful contrapuntists, as we have seen, endeavored to set agreeable, often clever and effective, four-part arrangements to these tunes. As long as there were, among the people, a number of persons able to perform those part-settings, musical taste, in a great degree, found expression and relief in those harmonies. But at length, when all such musical accomplishment was banished, and when, through childish bigotry, the simple psalm-tune was looked upon in the same light as the consecrated verse of the Bible, then even those four-part arrangements became obsolete; and the singing of the psalms gradually became a tiresome performance.

Although the history of English psalmody offers some interesting points, — it having been the only music the great majority of a great nation had enjoyed and cultivated for many years, — yet musical art derived directly from it very little advantage. It seems, that, after the Restoration, the English church composer was not attracted by the psalm-tunes: he did not find in

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them any inspiration or practical suggestions to further his art, either in a melodic or an harmonic sense. All that he did, if the occasion demanded it, was to add a new tune to the already large stock, or he allowed himself to be induced to "adapt" some other composer's pretty melody to a metrical psalm or hymn. Thus, the art of composition did not grow on the basis of the English psalm-tunes, as it did on that of the Protestant choral, or the Gregorian melody. The psalm-tune went borrowing its scant melodic and harmonic forms from the ballad, the opera, and instrumental music. Dr. Blow's "Lesson" on the Old Hundredth is the only attempt (and not a very deep one) I can recollect, in which a hymn-tune (and not an English one either) was used for contrapuntal treatment.

The only important side of the practice of psalmody is, that, though it had sunk to a very low state, it yet remained the people's music; though it became a rough, uncouth people's-song, it still stood a few degrees higher than the common, vulgar ballad-tune. Out of the root of the musically so much degraded psalmody, a new musical culture finally sprang; not alone in England, but also in New England. The crude manner of singing in church called forth a re-action in the interest of a desirable improvement in the style of divine song. Though the Puritans seem to have lost, for a time, all true sense and appreciation of refining, ennobling art, yet as their other intellectual qualities went on improving, and, in the course of time, became broader and more liberal, in regard to religious and social habits, their consciousness of the need and desirability of "decent" singing during divine service was also awakened. With this first step in the direction of "decent"

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singing in church, musical culture also gradually gained a surer foot-hold; and, as we shall see, the consequence of the revival of musical cultivation was a more general diffusion of music among the nation at large.

Psalmody was, for a time, considered, especially by the later growth of "American psalm-tune teachers," a very difficult and complicated branch of musical art. Essay upon essay, manual upon manual, were written, compiled, and published, in order to initiate the members of congregations into the mysteries of psalmody. But in order to unriddle these mysteries, no more profound science than the understanding of the merely rudimentary rules of musical grammar was needed. Thus in "An Introduction to Psalmody, wherein the Principles of that *Divine Art* are explained, in a Method so Easy and Familiar as to be understood by any Common Capacity" (London, 1737), we find the following heads of subject-matter: "1. Of the Scale, or Gamut; 2. Of the Notes, and their Pauses; 3. Of Flats and Sharps, and other Marks; 4. Of the Concords" (discords are not explained: they were not wanted in sweet psalmody); "5. Of the proper Naming of the Notes, called Solfaing of a Tune; 6. Of the Air, Tone, or Key; 7. Of the Graces used in Singing." Some of the "psalm-tune teachers" added, to these, rules of prosody, of expression, of the right deportment during the act of singing, and divers theories regarding congregational singing.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE ATTITUDE OF OUR MODERN CHURCHES TOWARD MUSIC AS AN ART.

THE intimate ideal relation between religion and art is granted by most æstheticians. Religion makes use of the different arts for ideal emotional purposes: the arts, which grew up, as history proves, on the basis of the religious sentiment of man, were thus endowed with a noble spiritual life. Among the arts, an honorable place in the Christian Church (as we have seen in the foregoing chapters) was early assigned to music; and music was recognized, by the different churches, as an agency of religious expression in man. But music, being an art, naturally endeavored to create for itself adequate art-forms, in order to express its own idea of the sublime and beautiful. Our modern music first found the rudimentary types of the sacred art-forms in the liturgical songs of the Catholic Church, — the Gregorian chants. Music, ascending thus to the higher region of art, consequently needed its own carefully educated and trained agents, in order to render those art-forms in an equally artistic audible representation. These agents are choir-singers and instrumentalists (organists and orchestral players). Though music and poetry are the only arts in which the people's production, the so-called folk's-poesy and folk-song, were at all accepted as

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possessing certain æsthetic qualities of expression and form, yet this popular side of music, though charming in the people's-song, became a great hinderance to the higher development of sacred art itself; for it assumed, in the churches of many Protestant denominations, an importance contrary to all reasonable idea of tone-art cultivation, even in its simplest forms.

Musical art, as I have shown, enters conspicuously into the construction of the service of the Roman-Catholic Church: with the inspired word as text, the inspired tone is harmoniously associated, in order to reveal to the faithful the mysteries of religion. Therefore we generally find the Catholic priest the friend of the composer, and some of the greatest church composers were monks and priests. The Catholic service, considered in its unity, rightly excludes congregational singing. By the introduction of this latter element, that ideal religious unity of the liturgy, consecrated by centuries of practice, would be broken; and, considered from the point of view of Catholic worship, little would be gained by the introduction of a crude art element. The different attempts made in this direction have always proved failures, and were finally abandoned as impracticable. However, at our present epoch, as I have mentioned above, the musical portion of divine service in most Catholic churches has sunk to a very low standard of taste. Few of the immortal works with which the great Catholic composers of past times adorned their church are now sung: flippant operatic arrangements have usurped their place.

In the Protestant churches, the word, the text, as appealing eminently to the mind, is the supreme agent of religious worship: the tone, in its art-development,

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is accepted only in a subordinate form, if not rejected altogether. We have seen that the English cathedral-service retained more of the tone-art than any other Protestant church: the higher musical art-forms enter into it conspicuously, and form an effective æsthetical counterbalance to congregational song. In this country (America) few churches, however, are able to keep up the choral service in its intended purity; and the indispensable choirs and efficient organists are sadly wanting. The Protestant clergyman, *in general*, has not much sympathy with music as a sacred art: nay, he often considers it an indispensable intruder, and would gladly banish it altogether, but for those few psalm-tunes in which the congregation delights. But congregational singing cannot be classed among the higher art-forms of church-music; and musicians who, aside from all questions of religious faith and piety, recommend congregational singing as the only *bona-fide* church-music, possess, indeed, little understanding and appreciation of music *as an art*. Protestants do not admit art as in any way needful during religious worship; they expressly guard against all encroachments of art, and tolerate only a small portion of art expression during divine service: hence congregational singing. Congregational singing, however, is infinitely preferable to the pretentious, vulgar attempts of a choir, heterogeneously scraped together, that so often harrow the feelings of a victimized audience; nay, even preferable to the operatic performances of the fashionable quartet: for congregational singing, though crude and uncouth, may still possess a certain degree of religious enthusiasm and inspiration, especially if the tunes are, as in the German Lutheran and the Calvinistic

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churches, those old, grand, noble melodies, composed and arranged in the time of a truly religious movement.

Church-music, in the sense of appropriate art-music, has therefore no future with regard to Protestant churches. Certain hymn or psalm tunes became, by hook or crook, popular with this or that congregation, and remained so until, with a new generation, additional tunes crept in. Thus congregational music is mere people's-music, and will probably remain so. And since the Protestant (the so-called dissenting) churches do not accept music, except simple psalmody, as a part of their liturgy, the composer's art does not find a place there. The efforts of this or that well-meaning organist, to introduce, in some part of the simple liturgical arrangement of the Protestant divine service, an anthem or motet, is praiseworthy en
but has really no place there. It is an arbitrar
ing of musical elements on something which do
call for it, and is therefore illogical and aimless.
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be dispensed with, without injury to t
unity of the Protestant liturgy. The
even the simple psalm-tune. Music,
therefore, nothing to gain from such prac
Protestant churches, rejecting the highe
music, thus give proof that their religious ri
call for an ideal musical expression.

It is therefore nonsense, to ask a congregatio
posed of the most heterogeneous elements as
natural musical ability, to observe a nice, di
pressive enunciation of the words, to produc
an artistic way, to breathe according to the

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the artistic singer, to do justice to the rhythm, or a nice intonation, as some would-be reformers of church-music would like them to do. To render justice to such demands, a good degree of art-education is needed; and we are not yet arrived at that art-millennium in which every church-member is an accomplished singer. Congregational music is therefore only an art-germ in its most primitive state: it cannot grow and expand, for the reason, that, in accordance with the narrow views of Protestant churches regarding musical practice during divine service, a rich, elaborate æsthetic development of art-forms may be detrimental to the idea and practice of piety. Even these once healthy, strong germs (congregational hymn-tunes) seem to wither and die out; for in what other way may we explain the abnormal, incongruous custom of borrowing new melodies for church use from secular musical forms, even from some whose purport, even in a worldly sense, is one of questionable propriety? In the German Lutheran Church, the organist, who is generally a thorough harmonist, constructs his preludes, etc., out of the *motivi* of the choral, or the sacred people's-song, which in this instance is thus raised into the regions of an art-form. The hymn-tune of the English and American Protestant churches lacks, as I have pointed out above, even this inspiring quality. Most organists, like the proverbial hymn-tune "manufacturers," find it more convenient, and apparently more to their taste, to select from among secular instrumental or vocal compositions such pieces as they need in order to "play the congregation in or out of church;" or, if they be, unluckily, possessed by ideas of original improvisation, the light-footed *valse tempo*, or the strongly rhythmical "thunder and light-

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ning Marciale," will lift the unsuspecting congregation out of their pews.

True art, in any form, ought to have a sacred signification for the man who devotes his life to it. You cannot attain it without great sacrifices of time and money. Therefore church-music, as an art-product, cannot be established without competent leaders, choirs, and organists; but to ask from these agents such devotion to their task as to render this task efficient in a truly sacred and artistic manner, you must first provide for them, in order to give them the necessary leisure for arduous study. As long as churches are not prepared to make sufficient provision for such work, true church-music will vegetate, and lead a miserable existence; fluctuating between the ignorance and arrogance of the busy amateur, and the musical ravings of the half-educated and undisciplined organist and choir-leader.

Music, as an art, now enjoys an independent ideal existence; it does not need the assistance of the church in order to promote its farther development: but still the question arises, Can church-service in our day *afford* to dispense with the inspiring help of music? It does not seem so. But in order to reconquer, in an effective manner, the benefits of this beautiful art, let the churches first rise to an ideal religious-art standard; let a consciously needed progress replace that which now languishes in stagnation; let the beauties of a deeply religious emotional sentiment, as represented by music, blend harmoniously with the inspired word: and in accordance with the larger, more liberal views of modern times, art and religion, depending on each other in sisterly love, complementing each other beautifully as it was destined from the beginning of things,

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will, in the fullest sense, render the temple of religious worship the *temple* of the Creator, — the Creator of all things; of art also, let us remember, as well as of religion.

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CHAPTER XII.

AN HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF OPINIONS REGARDING MUSICAL ÆSTHETICS, THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF MUSIC, AS EXPRESSED BY ENGLISH PHILOSOPHERS AND MUSICAL WRITERS. — CHRISTOPHER SIMPSON, T. ADDISON, A. MALCOLM.

At the time that English dissenters made war upon music, the friends of the lovely art were mostly to be found among the clergy and the members of the Established (Episcopal) Church, who firmly advocated its use during divine service. But these admirers of music, as a branch of sacred art, had to do with prosaic, coldly reasoning opponents: they had to conjure up all the resources and power of rhetoric in order to make their defence of music effective and telling. They, above all, based their arguments on those passages of the Bible which allude to musical practice as common among the ancient Jews and early Christians; they proved, on the testimony of the historical growth of Christian customs and institutions, that music, in one form or another, always was to be found near the altar of Christian religion; and, in order to vindicate music from the injurious accusation that it exercised a demoralizing effect upon the mind and soul of Christians, they even endeavored to penetrate more critically and philosophically into the intellectual and emotional nature of music. Music, as to its moral effects upon the mind, was compared with the other arts.

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The writings of acknowledged Greek theorists and philosophers were also studied and commented on: the opinions of the "Fathers of the Church" were quoted, and held up as convincing proofs. Thus it came to pass, that early in the seventeenth century English men of letters, and above all clergymen, were induced to touch upon many questions of musical æsthetics, and helped to open the road to a more philosophical estimation of musical art.[1]

Professional musicians, bent solely on the acquirement of theoretical and practical skill and knowledge, did not trouble themselves much about philosophical investigations regarding the nature of music. They enjoyed and created musical works according to the standard rules of harmony and counterpoint, and their individual taste and talent. Thus the treatises on thorough-bass, written by practical musicians, gave little more than the indispensable rules for harmony and counterpoint. Very justly says W. Mason,[2] —

"In these the Masters of it have criticised their predecessors and contemporaries, but only as Grammarians have criticised Grammarians: either for trespassing on the rules laid down by the old Masters, for modulation and harmony; or for breaking, like Priscian's, Guido's head."

True, in thorough-bass the composer found the most indispensable rules for furthering his art of composition; thorough-bass was for a long while the musician's only code of æsthetics. The German philosopher Herbart even went so far as to consider thorough-bass the, comparatively, most complete part of æsthetics; and, in the interest of progressive science, he even expressed a wish

[1] See Psalmody. [2] Essays on English Church-music, York, 1795.

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to see the other arts in the possession of a similar æsthetic code, or thorough-bass.[1]

But the meagre æsthetic results gained from the study of the two separate methods, the merely speculative and often sentimental one, ignoring the practical side of the art, and that based solely on thorough-bass, proved, that, in order to advance real appreciation and understanding of music's æsthetic nature, both sides of the question had to be consulted and studied: thus the musician and the philosopher were gradually obliged to unite their separate efforts, and to meet on one common ground in order to advance the science of a broader and more philosophical musical criticism. The progress of intellectual culture, together with the new scientific discoveries made regarding musical theory, would no longer allow the musician to stand solely on his thorough-bass. Musical art, being every year more universally practised, began to permeate daily life; and intellectual life, in its turn, began to reflect its strengthening influence on art. As time went on, the intelligent, progressive musician could no longer resist this recurring, varied, and rich interchange of the different intellectual and æsthetic currents proceeding from life and art. The too closely absorbing, incessant music-making, with little mind-strengthening background, threatened to gradually weaken the character and spirit of art, to render it shallow, and to stifle the creative mind in its further efforts to discover new paths, new forms; for conventionalism and conservatism are death to art, and especially to music, whose life-blood is progress. Hence the progressive musician will receive many an inspiring suggestion from a broad-minded, liberal, intelligent,

[1] Lotze, Geschichte der Aesthetik, p. 462.

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honest, musical criticism, based upon healthy æsthetic laws, common to all arts; since all the arts form, in an ideal sense, one complex unity.

Again, many essential points in the historical development of musical culture in general will be more clearly understood, with the help of the light that æsthetic criticism has so far been able to throw on them. And, according to my understanding and experience, our present musical culture in America is more the result of purely intellectual labor and process, than that of natural national art-instinct. Reasoning minds had first to clear from the road great prejudices against the cultivation of art, before musical practice, as an art, could be freely indulged in. Dormant æsthetic, emotional life, as influenced by music, had first to be called into existence and cognition by means of the appliance of the reasoning power of the mind; taking, as starting-point, the merely rudimentary æsthetic laws, as first revealed through religious agency. Appearing, then, as a moral attribute and efficient help to religious work, the germs of those æsthetic [1] laws were tolerated; they gradually struck deeper roots into the awakening emotional life of the people; and, with the expansion of a more enlightened and a freer social state in the nation, musical art also grew and expanded, finally ramifying in all directions.

I have considered a review of the historical growth of the philosophy — or rather æsthetics — of music in the mother-country, a great help in order to render the tendency of American musical culture clearer and more

[1] Though the modern expression "æsthetic" is not used by these old writers, instead of "taste," I shall use it as more expressive of the idea of the beautiful in musical forms.

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comprehensive; for, up to our time, the form and spirit of English musical criticism has influenced American musical critics and professional musicians, almost exclusively.

This review of English philosophico-musical investigation does not claim to be a complete history of the subject in question here. I shall only consider those authors whose writings have had a decided influence on the growth of English musical criticism, and who have endeavored thus to throw some light on certain musical questions. For, it is an historical fact, some of the musical essays written by English writers during the latter part of the last century, attracted more attention from the intelligent writers of the Continent than the practical compositions of English professional musicians received. These latter were almost entirely ignored; while the others were even translated into French and German, called forth favorable comments, and were diligently studied. They became the means of suggesting new thought, and promoted new philosophical investigations. It almost looked as if the Englishman had more *head* than *heart* for music.

Those fables regarding the wonderful power music is said to have had in raising all kinds of passions, and in producing many mysterious effects upon the hearer, as reported by ancient Greek and Roman writers, were quoted and largely commented on, again and again, by nearly every English writer who found occasion to say something about music, up to the beginning of this century. Many learned men (though perhaps poor musicians) believed in those fabulous reports, regarding the power of music, with truly touching *naïveté;* and, failing to find modern music producing similar effects,

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they condemned it as a degenerate, weak offspring. Thus Sir William Temple asks, —

"What has become of the Charms of Musick, by which Men and Beasts were so frequently inchanted, and their very Natures changed, by which the Passions of Men were raised to the greatest Height and Violence, and then as suddenly appeased, so as they might be justly said to be turned into Lions and Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Power and Charms of this admirable Art?"

Modern music, being of a rather peaceful character regarding its relations to "men and beasts," was despised by Sir W. Temple, and other admirers of ancient art. Musicians, though not sharing the credulity of amateurs of the above stamp, nevertheless admitted that music could "raise the passions," and upon this point they seemed unanimous in their opinion. Thus, among others, Christopher Simpson says,[1] —

"Musick, in its divine, as well as civil use and application, doth not seem to be inferior to other sciences either for Art, Excellency, or Intricacy. Whether we consider it in its Theory or Mathematick Part . . . Or in its Practick Part . . . Or in its Active, Mechanick Part which midwifes and brings forth those Sounds; either by the excellent Modulation of the Voice, or by the exquisite dexterity of the Hand upon some Instrument, and thereby presents them to the Ear and Understanding; making such Impressions upon our Minds and Spirits, as produce those strange and admirable effects, recorded in History, and known by Experience."

When the composer had to set music to words, he seemed not to have had any doubts about the means to be employed in order to "raise those different passions." He then could rely on some apparently rational rules, or conventional means and traditions. Thus the above writer says, —

[1] See Compendium of Practical Musick.

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"When you compose Musick to Words, your chief endeavor must be, that your Notes aptly express the Sense and Humour of them. If they be Grave and Serious let your Musick be such also: If Light, Pleasant, or Lively, your Musick likewise must be suitable to them. Any Passion of Love, Sorrow, Anguish, and the like, is aptly expressed by Chromatick Notes and Bindings. Anger, Courage, Revenge, etc., require a more strenuous and stirring movement. Cruel, Bitter, Harsh, may be expressed with a Discord; which, nevertheless, must be brought off according to the Rules of Composition. High, Above, Heaven, Ascend; as likewise their Contrairies, Low, Deep, Down, Hell, Descend, may be expressed by the Example of the Hand; which points upward when we speak of the one, and downward when we mention the other; the contrary to which would be absurd."

For the above æsthetic operation, the composer knew how to select, from the matter his thorough-bass gave him, those ingredients that would form the necessary compound; but when he endeavored to compose for instruments alone — absolute music — he was not quite so sure about what kind of passions were to be expressed by this or that melodic or harmonic passage.

"In this kind of Musick [says Simpson], the Composer (being not limited to words) doth imploy all his Art and Invention solely about the bringing in and carrying on of those Fuges according to the Order and Method formerly shewed. . . . When he has tryed all the several ways which he thinks fit to be used therein; he takes some other Point, and does the like with it: or else, for variety, introduces some Chromatick Notes, with Bindings and Intermixtures of Discords; or, falls into some lighter Humour like a Madrigal, or what else his own fancy shall lead him to: but still concluding with something which hath Art and Excellency."

When the composer had to set words to music, our author recommends "Chromatick Notes and Bindings if Love, Sorrow, Anguish and the like" had to be expressed. With regard to instrumental music, such notes

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are introduced in order to produce variety. Thus, the same kind of passages were intended to express, in one case, definite sentiments or "passions," and, in the other, to serve merely as æsthetic effects within formal structure. This dualistic estimate of the nature and effect of music exercised a confusing influence on most of the writers whom I shall quote in the following pages.

In England instrumental music was then not of a very high order, though the composer of such pieces delighted in exhibiting the resources of his *savoir-faire;* and, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, he knew well how to "prick down" his lively dance-tunes and "Fancies." When instrumental music began to emancipate itself from vocal music, the different slow and fast dance-tunes were the most cultivated instrumental forms. The plastic meaning of the different figures which composed this or that particular dance, — the emotional mood, the result of the time and motion, which influenced the countenance and movements of the dancers, — all these could, in a rather explicit manner, serve as a guide to the composer, endeavoring to assign to every particular form of dance the power of expressing, by means of rhythm, melody, and harmony, a distinct sentiment, or trying to raise distinct passions. The old masters, speaking of the different forms of the dances, characterized them accordingly. So, among others, Morley, in his "Plaine and Easey Introduction," says,[1] —

"The next in gravity and goodness unto this is called pavane, a kinde of staide musicke. . . . The Gailliard is a lighter and more stirring kinde of Musicke than the pavane. . . . The Aleman is a

[1] p. 181.

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more heavie dance than this (fitlie representing the nature of the people, whose name it carrieth) so that no extraordinarie motions are used in dancing it, etc."

Though some English musicians were very industrious and successful in the cultivation and composing of instrumental pieces, this form was considered by many English writers, and even professional musicians, far inferior to the meaning and nature of vocal music. Instrumental music was of too vague an expression to interest the English mind, supremely inclined towards the investigation and understanding of concrete matter. The word, promoting distinctness of thought, was necessary to them in order to find in music any explicit emotional meaning, or some supposed quality of passion. On the strength of this faithful interpreter, the word, they accepted the tone-element, and classified it, as to its emotional or sentimental expression, according to the rules of poetry, prosody, rhetoric, elocution, etc. Morley and Simpson, experienced masters, gave the composer great latitude wherein to exercise his free imagination as an inventor of musical forms; but either the imagination of the majority of English composers was not rich, fanciful, and intense enough to do justice to higher demands regarding the creation of great instrumental forms, or else it inclined too much to that which is plausible and clear in expression, — the composer requiring the definite meaning of the word in order to excite and lead his fancy to the fashioning of complex structural forms. This equivocal position towards, and æsthetic estimation of, music as an independent art, is to be noticed in all the musical writings of English authors. They almost invariably endeavor to lay down rules for the æsthetic (critical) understanding

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and appreciation of forms as used in vocal music; but their æsthetics generally break down when the treatment of absolute music, instrumental music, is required. So Addison in "The Spectator" is in a great dilemma about the merits of absolute music. He acknowledges that the "Italians have a genius for music above the English: the English have a genius for other performances of a much higher nature, and capable of giving the mind a much nobler entertainment." Music, without the explaining help of words, appears to him a rather dangerous element. He is afraid of its influence upon the ears. Says he, —

"Music is certainly a very agreeable entertainment; but if it would take the entire possession of our ears, if it would make us incapable of hearing sense, if it would exclude arts that have a much greater tendency to the refinement of human nature, I must confess I would allow it no better quarter than Plato has done, who banishes it out of his commonwealth."

But if the so dangerous art be wedded to fine words, then "The Spectator" thinks the sting of demoralizing the ear with bewitching melody will be taken out of it; and in that case music may be used to improve virtue. Thus, expressing a wish to have the style of church-music improved, "The Spectator" says, —

"Our composers have one very great incitement to it. They are sure to meet with excellent words, and at the same time a wonderful variety of them. *There is no passion* that is not finely expressed in those parts in the inspired writings which are proper for divine songs and anthems. . . . Since we have therefore such a treasury of words, so beautiful in themselves, and so proper for the air of music, I cannot but wonder that persons of distinction should give so little attention and encouragement to that kind of music which would have its foundation in reason, and which would improve our virtue in proportion as it raises delight."

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The Englishman of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was pre-eminently a religious (church-) man; and yet, on the whole, he seems to have had very little natural sympathy for the fine arts, among which I classify music. This latter, however, gained a certain pre-eminence above the other arts, since it was considered the handmaid of religion, and to it was gradually assigned the moral importance of promoting religious devotion.

"The first and chief Use of Musick [says Playford] is for the Service and Praise of God, whose Gift it is. The second Use is for the Solace of Men, which, as it is agreeable to Nature, so is allowed by God as a Temporal Blessing to recreate and cheer Men after long study and weary Labour in their Vocation."

And Chr. Simpson uses the following simile:—

"All Sounds that can possibly be joined at once together in Musical Concordance, are still but the reiterated Harmony of Three; a Significant Emblem of that Supreme and Incomprehensible Trinity, *Three in One*, governing and disposing the whole machine of the World, with all its included Parts, in a perfect Harmony; for in the Harmony of Sounds there is some great hidden Mystery above what hath been yet discovered."

This simile seems to have struck those American psalm-tune teachers into whose hands it found its way; for again and again we find music explained by them as a "perfect harmony, the emblem of Trinity." Some enlarged on this moral dogma at such length that the idea of music disappeared entirely, and only the Trinity was left, even without "concords and discords" to sustain it.

But music was also used in connection with secular amusements: its strains enlivened the dance, and were welcomed at theatrical performances. It is this secu-

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lar use of music which caused pious Englishmen the greatest concern. Firmly believing that instrumental music could be made the agency of rousing all kinds of passions, good and evil, the dreadful consequences which resulted from frequenting dancing-halls and theatres were partly placed to the account of music.

"We find, [says a writer] that in Heaven there is Musick and Hallelujah Sung. I believe it is an helper both to Good and Evil, and will therefore honour it when it moves to Virtue, and shall beware of it when it would flatter into Vice."

An ethical, moral force was thus instinctively attributed to music. It had gained this distinction by means of its early association with religious things and practice: this moral principle, which grew out of conventional use, was finally accepted as the basis upon which music rested, and according to which it was eventually judged, rejected, or accepted. Instrumental (absolute) music, however, gradually began to enlist the attention of the English musician, as much as that of vocal music. Its forms and effects even received some share of the philosopher's investigation. Some writers, in order to refute the often-repeated, stereotyped affirmation, that ancient (Greek) music was superior to modern music, held instrumental music up as an art far superior to any thing the ancients could do or had dreamed of. So, among others, A. Malcolm published, in 1730, "A Treatise of Musick, Speculative, Practical, and Historical, containing an Explanation of the Philosophical and Rational Grounds and Principles thereof; The Nature and Office of the Scale of Musick; The Whole Art of writing Notes; and the General Rules of Composition. With A Particular Account of the

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Antient Musick, and a Comparison thereof with the Modern."

Malcolm's treatise may be considered an attempt at a system of musical æsthetics. Every part of musical art and science, as in practice then, is investigated. Our author goes beyond the scope of the professional musician's thorough-bass. He does not wish to teach the musical student the rules of harmony and counterpoint, but rather to throw light upon the philosophical (æsthetic) nature of music.

With regard to the chapter treating of harmony and counterpoint, the concrete parts of musical composition, Malcolm is in the same perplexed position as a great modern German æsthetician, Th. F. Vischer. "A Friend" communicated that to him, as he did not trust his own judgment in making extracts from the different writers whom he consulted on the subject, and arranging such a compound as would answer his design, without which there would have been a "Blank" in his work. The speculative part of his treatise, Malcolm claims as his own. A number of views, especially regarding absolute music, might have been expressed, but for the antiquated style, by some of our modern writers, who find in music little more than mere pleasurable effects produced upon the nervous system. Malcolm does not admit that the "raising of passions" is music's province: to him it is "A Science of Sounds whose End is Pleasure." I here quote those passages of his book that bear on the above question:[1] —

"I have already observed [says he] that the principal end the Antients proposed in their Musick, was to move the passions; and

[1] A part of Malcolm's treatise was republished in one of the earliest American musical journals.

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to this purpose poetry was a necessary Ingredient. We have no dispute about the Power of poetical compositions to affect the Heart, and move the Passions, by such a strong and lively Representation of their proper Objects, as that noble Art is capable of: The Poetry of the Antients we own is admirable, and their Verses being sung with harmonious Cadences and Modulations, by a clear, sweet Voice, supported by the agreeable Sound of some instrument in such a manner that the Hearer understood every Word that was said, which was all delivered with a proper Action, *that is*, Pronunciation and Gesture suitable to, or expressive of, the Subject, as we also suppose the Kind of Verses, and the Modulation applied to it was; taking their vocal Musick in this View, we make no doubt that it had admirable Effects in exciting Love, Pity, Anger, Grief, or any thing else the Poet had a Mind to. But then they must be allowed to affirm, — we pretend to have the Experience of it, — that the modern Musick, taking it in the same Sense, has all these Effects. . . . Our Poets are capable to express any moving story in a very pathetick Manner: Our Musicians, too, know how to apply a suitable Modulation and *Rhythmus:* And we have those who can put the Whole in Execution; so that the Heart capable of being moved will be forced to own the wonderful Power of Modern Musick."

Malcolm is very sceptical as to those wonderful things the ancients are said to have accomplished by means of their music.

"But still there are wonders [says he], to have been performed by the ancient Musick, which we can produce nothing like; such as those amazing Transports of Mind, and hurrying of Men from one Passion to another, all on a sudden, like the moving of a Machine, of which we have so many Examples in History. . . . What an improvement in the knowledge of pure Harmony has been made, since the Introduction of modern Symphonies? Here it is, that the Mind is ravished with the Agreement of Things seemingly contrary to one another. We have here a kind of Imitation of the Works of Nature, whose different Things are wonderfully joyned in one harmonious Unity: and as some things appear at first View the furthest removed from Symmetry and Order, which from the

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Course of Things we learn to be absolutely necessary for the Perfection and Beauty of the Whole; so Discords, being artfully mixed with Concords, make a more perfect Composition which surprises with Delight. If the Mind is naturally pleased with perceiving Order and Proportion, with comparing several Things together, in discerning in the midst of a seeming Confusion, the most perfect and exact Disposition and united Agreement; then the modern Concerts must undoubtedly be allowed to be Entertainments worthy of our Natures: And with the Harmony of the Whole we must consider the surprising Variety of Air, which the modern *Constitutions* and *Modes* of *Time* or *Rhythmus* afford; by which, in our instrumental Performances, the Sense and Imagination are so mightily charmed. Now, this is an Application of Musick to a quite different Purpose from that of moving Passion: But is it reasonable on that Account, to call it idle and insignificant, as some do, who I therefore suspect are ignorant of it? It was certainly a noble Use of Musick to make it subservient to Morality and Virtue; and if we apply it less that way, I believe 'tis we have less Need of such Allurements to our Duty: But whatever be the Reason of this, 'tis enough to the present argument, that our Musick is at least not inferior to the Ancient in the pathetick Kind: And if it be not a low and unworthy Thing for us to be pleased with Proportion and Harmony, in which there is properly an *intellectual Beauty*, then it must be considered, that it must be confessed, that the modern Musick is more perfect than the Ancient. But why must the moving of particular Passions be the only Use of Musick? . . . We must observe again, that there is scarce any Piece of Melody that has not some general Influence upon the Heart; and by being more sprightly or heavy in its Movements, will have different Effects; tho' it is not designed to excite any particular Passion, and can only be said in general to give Pleasure, and recreate the Mind. . . . We have Compositions fitted altogether for Instruments: the Design whereof is not so much to move the Passions, as to *entertain the Mind and please the Fancy* with a Variety of Harmony and Rhythmus, the principal Effect and Admiration."

The same ground Malcolm takes with regard to vocal music. Rhythm, in the music of the ancients, was con-

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sidered as the all-powerful agent: in fact, the whole effect of music was ascribed to it by ancient writers. Malcolm, while acknowledging that "Rhythmus gives life to Musick," thinks it exaggerated to "make it the whole."

"I rather reckon the Words and Sense of what's sung, the principal Ingredient; and the other a noble Servant to them, for raising and keeping up the Attention, because of the natural Pleasure annexed to these Sensations. 'Tis very true, that there is a Connection betwixt certain Passions, which we call Motions of the Mind, and certain Motions of our Bodies; and when by any external Motion these can be imitated and excited, no doubt we shall be much moved; and the Mind by that Influence, becomes either gay, soft, brisk, or drowsy: But how any particular Passion can be excited without such lively Representation of its proper Object, as only Words afford, is not very intelligible; at least this appears to me the most just and effectual way."

Malcolm, in his definition of the effects of music, occupies almost the same ground as our contemporary writer R. Grant White. The former, however, lived more than a century ago.

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CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES AVISON, D. BROWN, JAMES HARRIS, DANIEL WEBB, JAMES BEATTIE, JOHN TRYDELL, EDMUND BURKE.

MALCOLM'S views, regarding the function of music, are eminently modern: not much progress has been made beyond him, regarding fundamental principles. Philosophers and musical critics have since been divided into two parties: one assigning to music, both vocal and instrumental, the power of representing definite sentiments and even thoughts; the other rejecting this power, either altogether, or, according to certain circumstances, recognizing it only partially. The fight, regarding this æsthetic side of musical art, was generally indulged in by men of letters, who, in the course of their philosophical investigations of the poetic arts, found that music, in certain cases, exercised quite an important influence on those arts. The professional musician, the composer, did not trouble himself much about these theories: he was convinced that musical forms are not empty shells, made of well-sounding tone-material; he believed that music can express more than mere well-arranged pleasing melodies and harmonies. Having no doubt respecting this power of music, he went on creating work after work, leaving to others the task of explaining the mysteries of his art. However,

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here and there one of the profession rose, endeavoring to explain those deeper æsthetic problems, as revealed by the aid of a more practical insight into the workings of the art. Such was *Charles Avison*, who published in London, in 1752, his "Essay on Musical Expression." The work, when it first appeared, caused quite a stir among English musicians and writers on music; partly on account of its *quasi*-philosophical statements, and partly on account of the author's strictures on Handel, whom he took occasion to criticise as having sinned, in some of his finest works, against good taste. Avison, a pupil of Geminiani, placed his master's and Marcello's works above those of Handel. The English musician being an admiring disciple of the Italian masters, his musical criticism was a reflex of the Italian art view and practice. Music is to Avison an art, that, above all, expresses pleasure, and whose function is to work on the serene side of the passions. This theory was exactly in harmony with the Italian art ideal. Handel's ideal was not confined to the one-sided art of giving mere pleasure, and working on the serene side of the passions: he felt that he possessed the power to "rouse and stir all the different passions" by means of music. He did not fall far short of his attempt.

"If we view this Art in its Foundation [says Avison], we shall find that by the Constitution of Man it is of mighty Efficacy in working both on his Imagination and his Passions. The Force of Harmony or Melody alone, is wonderful on the Imagination. A full Chord struck, or a beautiful Succession of single Sounds produced, is no less ravishing to the Ear, than just Symmetry or exquisite Colours to the Eye.

"The Capacity of receiving Pleasure from these musical Sounds, is, in Fact, a peculiar and internal Sense; but of a much more refined Nature than the external Senses: For in the Pleasures

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arising from our internal Sense of Harmony, there is no prior Uneasiness necessary, in order to our tasting them in their full Perfection; neither is the Employment of them attended either with Langour or Disgust. It is this peculiar and essential Property, to divest the Soul of every unquiet Passion, to pour in upon our Mind a silent and serene Joy, beyond the Power of Words to express, and to fix the Heart in a rational, benevolent, and happy Tranquillity.

"But though this be the natural Effect of Melody or Harmony on the Imagination, when simply considered: yet when to these is added the Force of *Musical Expression*, the Effect is greatly increased; for then they assume the Power of exciting all the most agreeable Passions of the Soul. The Force of Sound in alarming the Passions is prodigious. Thus, the Noise of Thunder, the Shouts of War, the Uproar of an enraged Ocean, strike us with Terror: So again, there are certain Sounds natural to Joy, others to Grief or Despondency, others to Tenderness and Love; and by hearing those, we naturally sympathize with those who either *enjoy* or *suffer*. Thus Music, either by imitating these various Sounds in due Subordination to the Laws of *Air* or *Harmony*, or by any other Method of Association, bringing the Objects of our Passions before us (especially when these Objects are determined, and made as it were visible, and intimately present to the Imagination by the Help of Words) does naturally raise a Variety of Passions in the human Breast, similar to the Sounds which are expressed: And thus by the Musician's Art we are often carried into the Fury of a Battle, or a Tempest, we are by turns elated with Joy, or sunk in pleasing Sorrow, roused to Courage or quelled by grateful Terrors, melted into Pity, Tenderness, and Love, or transported to the Region of Bliss, in an Extasy of divine Praise."

This "Method of Association," by means of which Avison endeavors to explain the power of music, was the subject of a fuller philosophical investigation in the hands of a subsequent author, *Alison*. Avison, however, in order to fix the "Variety of Passions raised," in a more definite way, had to fall back upon the "Help of Words" in order to present those "Objects to the

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Imagination:" absolute music could not impress such vivid, and "as it were visible," pictures upon the imagination.

Avison is of opinion, that the peculiar æsthetic quality of music is to raise "sociable and happy Passions, and to subdue the contrary ones." He thinks that music's province is to affect only one set of affections of the mind, and not every one.

"I would appeal [says he] to any Man, whether ever he found himself urged to Acts of Selfishness, Cruelty, Treachery, Revenge, or Malevolence, by the Power of musical Sounds? Or if he ever found Jealousy, Suspicion, or Ingratitude, engendered in his Breast, either from Harmony or Discords? I believe no instance of this Nature can be alleged with Truth."

Even if music should urge the "Passions" to an excess, and be then pernicious in its effects, still "Passions" thus raised, "though they may be misled, or excessive, are of the benevolent and social kind, and in their Intent at least disinterested and noble." Thus terror may be raised by musical expression; and though the impression may be something terrible to the imagination, yet we instantaneously perceive that the danger is only imaginary, and then "The Sense of our Security mixes itself with the terrible Impression, and melts it into delight." So grief, having something of the social kind for its foundation, is often attended with a kind of sensation which may with truth be called pleasing. Our author naturally comes to the conclusion, that, since "It is the natural Effect of Air or Harmony to throw the Mind into a pleasurable State," passions the most natural and agreeable to that happy state will only have fair play; but "Affections, such as Anger, Revenge, Jealousy, and Hatred are always attended with Anxiety

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and Pain; whereas all the various Modifications of Love, whether human or divine, are but so many kinds of immediate Happiness." Hence Avison concludes that it is the imperious business of music to promote this latter: "Every Species of musical Sound must tend to dispel the malevolent Passions, because they are *painful;* and nourish those which are benevolent, because they are *pleasing.*"

Professor Bain says, "In fine art, every thing disagreeable is meant to be excluded" (*Mental Science,* p. 296, American edition).

Avison warns the composer to be careful how he makes use of "Imitation," or what we moderns call tone-painting. He says that musical expression is "such a Concurrence of Air and Harmony, as affects us most strongly with Passions or Affections which the Poet intends to raise." But our author makes it rather difficult for the composer to reach this end: he does not wish him to "dwell on particular Words in the way of Imitation, but to comprehend the Poet's general Drift, or Intention, and on this to form his Airs and Harmony either by Imitation (so far as Imitation be proper to this End) or by any other Means." But if the composer cannot suppress his attempt at raising the "Passions by Imitation," he must do it in "a temperate and chastised manner:" otherwise, instead of bringing the "Object before the Hearer, he may be induced to form a comparison between the Object and the Sound, and then his attention will be turned on the Composer's Art, which must effectually check the Passions." If the composer's art is to raise the passions, as we have been told before, then it is difficult to understand how in another instance it will be instrumental in checking

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them. It will be a decided gain in the interest of "Air and Harmony," if the composer's art be strong enough to turn the listener's attention to his composition, though the "Object of Imitation" may suffer by this process. Or is the composer expected to arrange his "Air and Harmony" in such a manner as to administer a certain dose for the raising of one kind of passion, and another dose for another kind? Avison ought to have given the composer an æsthetic manual, based on his theory, giving directions how many grains of a particular "Air and Harmony" it takes to raise this particular passion, and how many that other.[1]

The following passage of Avison's treatise is one of those which our American psalm-tune teachers have copied and commented on again and again. It was, in fact, the dogma of their whole musical æsthetics. Avison says,—

"The Power of Music in this Respect (that is, if Imitation is of a temperate and chastised kind) is parallel to the Power of Eloquence: if it works at all, it must work in a secret and unsuspected manner. In either Case, a pompous display of art will destroy its own Intentions. . . . Musical Expression is that which gives rise to the Pathetic in every other Art, an *unaffected Strain of Nature and Simplicity.*"

Handel's art, therefore, was, in Avison's eyes, of too pompous and artificial a nature: besides, he made too frequent use of that sort of "Imitation" which Avison wished to exclude from musical composition. The American psalm-tune composer was more faithful to

[1] A recent writer, Mr. Ernst Pauer, has endeavored to do this in The Elements of the Beautiful in Music: on p. 20 of the book, speaking of the expression of the intervals and the different major and minor keys, an antiquated, sentimental, would-be æsthetic theory is revived, and explained at great length. See also Marx' Gluck und die Oper, and Hand's Aesthetik der Tonkunst.

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Avison's æsthetic law. He always worked in a "secret" and, too often, "unsuspected way." He never was guilty of a too "pompous display of art." He knew much of the "Power of Eloquence," and little of that of music. Avison, in reminding the performer of his duties, says, "For, as Musical Expression in the Composer, is succeeding in the Attempt to express some Particular Action (the word taken in the most extensive sense), so in the Performer, it is to do a Composition Justice, by playing it in a Taste and Stile so exactly corresponding with the Intention of the composer as to preserve and illustrate all the Beauties of his Work." But, in order to accomplish his artistic task, the performer must avoid a mere exhibition of technical accomplishment. Avison had, no doubt, in his mind the belief that music was powerful, in a general sense, in the raising of the passions; but he was not quite decided whether to consider music as an imitative art, or not.

In a subsequent work he proposed to publish, he gave the following division of the different styles of musical expression: —

The Grand;	The Beautiful;	The Pathetic.

Under these several denominations he distinguished as follows: —

The Sublime;	The Cheerful;	The Devout;
The Joyous;	The Serene;	The Plaintive;
The Learned;	The Pastoral;	The Sorrowful.

These different æsthetic divisions of styles, the author intended to illustrate by specimens taken from the psalms of Marcello. Instrumental music, absolute music, was not thought of in this instance.

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A similar scheme, as we shall see, though much modified and improved on, was afterwards carried out by Dr. Crotch. Avison, although, in a speculative, philosophical way, not sufficiently equipped to carry out his ideas, gave, nevertheless, many æsthetic suggestions which eventually led other writers to further investigations on this subject.

But, until the beginning of this century, nearly all those æsthetic speculations which bore on music were made on the basis of poetry. In Italy, in France, in Germany, as well as in England, essay after essay appeared explaining the musical qualities of the different styles of poetry, giving the poet advice how to arrange his poems (verses) destined to be set to music, teaching the musician how to apply his art in order to illustrate the poem adequately, and to "raise the passions," as intended by the poet's production. It was not till after the great achievements in instrumental music by the German school as represented by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, that musicians, and writers on music, began to make serious attempts to classify and explain the different styles of instrumental music, and to lay down the principles of an æsthetic appreciation of the great instrumental forms. Some writers even went so far as to regard absolute music as a corruption of taste. Thus Dr. Brown, in 1763, published a "Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progression, Separation, and Corruption of Poetry and Music."

It would lead me too far to examine all the author's assertions regarding the subject in question here. I shall limit myself to quoting the strange results Dr. Brown arrived at in the course of his investigations. He, like many writers of his time, considered the poetry

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and music of the ancients as the great models. The cause of the separation of poetry and music he explains thus:—

"As the modern Poetry become often unfit for music, so from a singular cause the Separation was confirmed, and Music in its Form became often unfit for Poetry. . . . For, now, *instrumental* music, having assumed a new and more inviting Form, and being ennobled by the principles of a complex and varied *Harmony*, was introduced as being of itself a compleat Science, independent of Poetry and Song. This gave it an artificial and labored Turn; while the Composer went in Quest of curious Harmonies, Discords, Resolutions, Fugues and Canons; and prided himself (like the Poet) in a pompous Display of Art, to the Neglect of Expression and true Pathos."

The author complains that this rise of modern music was instrumental in accomplishing its unfortunate separation from "Poetry, Legislation and Morals,"—a separation which grieved the author much; and the ultimate aim of his dissertation is to point out the proper means to recover the lost ground, and to bring about a "Re-Union of Poetry and Music,"[1] in order that these arts may be again as powerful and effectual as they were in old Greece. But since, in our modern times, "the Legislator's and Bard's character cannot again be generally and fully united," Dr. Brown wishes, above all, that this union of poetry and music "be brought about in the interest of Church Service." "It stands [this union] intimately connected with all the sublime Truths, the great and affecting Events of our Religion, which, when thus exhibited by the united Powers of *Poem* and *Song*, call forth all the noblest Emotions of the human Soul; and exalt it to the highest Pitch of Elevation that our mortal Condition will admit." But, in order to

[1] Wagner's theory.

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facilitate this process of "Re-Union" of the two sister arts, Dr. Brown urges the establishment of "a Poetic and Musical Academy, for the more effectual Re-Union of those two Arts, and their better Direction to their highest Ends." Our author thinks that such an institution would be of great importance, since music and poetry have exercised "on every Nation of the Earth" a refined or a corrupted influence. "So universal and powerful are their Effects on the Passions of the Soul, that perhaps no Period of human Nature can be assigned (at least, the Writer knows of none) in which they have not been either *salutary* or *pernicious:* In which they have not either tended to promote and confirm Religion, Virtue, and public Happiness; or been the Instruments of Licentiousness and public Ruin." Though this is paying a great compliment to the power of music, yet it is an exaggeration. If one of the two arts had ever such an influence over the passions of men as to cause "Licentiousness and public Ruin," surely music was not the guilty party. The whole mischief must be laid at the door of poetry, who unscrupulously, and probably on false pretences, dragged her sister art along, afterwards heaping all the blame on her defenceless companion; for she is without those rhetorical means that poetry possesses in order to defend herself effectually against sophistry and *double-entendre.*

Brown's curious dissertation weighed heavily upon those of our American psalm-tune teachers who became acquainted with its contents. French and German writers of the last century even, quoted Brown on certain points as an authority. The purely musical part of the "Dissertation" is principally based on Avison's above-mentioned essay.

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In 1744 *James Harris* published three treatises, the second of which, "Music, Painting, and Poetry," only concerns us here. According to the generally accepted æsthetic views of that time, the three arts were considered as imitative arts. But our author, in the course of his philosophical reasoning, comes to the conclusion that "Musical Imitation, at best, is but an imperfect thing," and that it derives its efficacy from another source than imitation. He finds that —

"There are various Affections which may be raised by the Power of Music. There are Sounds to make us *cheerful*, or *sad; martial* or *tender;* and so of almost every Affection, which we feel. . . . There is a reciprocal Operation between our Affections, and our Ideas; so that, by a sort of natural Sympathy, certain Ideas necessarily tend to raise in us certain Affections; and those Affections, by a sort of Counter-Operation, to raise the same Ideas. Thus Ideas derived from Funerals, Tortures, Murders, and the like, naturally generate the Affection of Melancholy. And when, by any physical Causes, that Affection happens to prevail, it as naturally generates the same doleful Ideas."

But in order to produce this "Counter-Operation of Affections and Ideas," the closest union of the two arts, poetry and music, is required; for our author considers music as "the most powerful Ally to Poetry. . . . Poetry expresses Ideas. The Ideas therefore of Poetry must needs make the most sensible Impression, when the Affections peculiar to them are already excited by Music. For here a double Force is made to co-operate to one End. A Poet, thus assisted, finds not an Audience in a Temper, averse to the Genius of his Poem, or perhaps at best under a cool Indifference; but by the Preludes, Symphonies, and concurrent Operation of the Music, in all its Parts, roused into these very Affections which he would most desire." Thus the "Power

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of Music consists not in Imitation, and the raising of Ideas; but in the raising of Affections to which Ideas correspond. . . . Music, passing to the Mind thro' the *Organ* of the *Ear*, can imitate only by *Sounds* and *Motions*." Our author thinks that by the means of such reasoning the objection may be solved which is raised against the singing of poetry (as in opera, oratorio, etc.); namely, that it displays a "Want of Probability and Resemblance to Nature." With one who has no musical ear, such objections may have weight. But to the lover of music, good poetry justly set to music is a source of great delight; for by "the Air of music, the several Ideas of the Poem are enforced" and imparted to the listener's imagination with strength and grandeur. "We cannot surely but confess, that he is a Gainer in the Exchange, when he barters the want of a single Probability, that of Pronunciation (a thing merely arbitrary and very indifferent), for a noble Heightening of Affections which are suitable to the Occasion, and enable him to enter into the Subject with double Energy and Enjoyment." Hence the author considers it "evident, that those two Arts can never be so powerful singly, as when they are properly united. For Poetry, when alone, must be necessarily forced to *waste* many of its richest Ideas, in the mere raising of Affections, when, to have been properly relished, it should have found those Affections in their highest Energies. And Music, when alone, can only raise Affections which soon languish and decay, if not maintained and fed by the nutritive Images of Poetry."

Harris's essay exercised great influence on English literary men, who paid some attention to music. Even musicians, who devoted more thinking than they gen-

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erally do to the ideal side of their art, looked upon Harris as a philosophical authority; and, there is no doubt about it, our author has put forth many an interesting, suggestive thought, regarding the function and power of music.

In 1769 *Daniel Webb* published "Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music." Here, again, music is judged in its intimate relation with poetry: its independent position is touched upon merely in a casual way.

Webb considers music as an imitative art. He does not blindly accept the old fables concerning the power of music, but makes an attempt to seek for the psychological reasons that may govern the æsthetic functions of music. He opens thus:—

"Though the influence of music over our passions is very generally felt and acknowledged; though its laws are universally the same, its effects in many instances constant and uniform,—yet we find ourselves embarrassed, in our attempts to reason on this subject, by the difficulty which attends the forming a clear idea of any natural relation between sound and sentiment."

The author says that those who think to elude this difficulty by attributing the influence of sound on passion to the habit of associating certain ideas with certain sounds, have no plausible principle on their side. Webb now considers the material effect of sound upon our nervous system, in order to find a solution to the question how far music is capable of influencing our passions (emotions)? In this attempt at a physiological investigation of the phenomenon, he anticipates some of our modern physiologists.

"All musical sounds are divided into acute and grave: the acute spring from strong, the grave from weaker, vibrations. No

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sound, therefore, can act as a single impression, since we cannot have a feeling of it but in consequence of a succession of impressions. Should it appear that our passions act in like manner by successive impressions, or that they affect us on a principle similar to that which is deduced from the analysis of sounds, we might then hope to become masters of the desired secret, and to discover, so far as such things are discoverable, the nature of the relation between sound and sentiment.

"As we have no direct nor immediate knowledge of the mechanical operations of the passions, we endeavor to form some conception of them from the manner in which we find ourselves affected by them. Thus we say, that love softens, melts, insinuates; anger quickens, stimulates, inflames; pride expands, exalts; sorrow dejects, relaxes: of all which ideas, we are to observe, that they are different modifications of motion, so applied as best to correspond with our feelings of each particular passion. From whence, as well as from their known audible effects, there is just reason to presume that the passions, according to their several natures, do produce certain proper and distinctive motions in the refined and subtle parts of the human body. . . . And the mind, under particular affections, excites certain vibrations in the nerves, and impresses certain movements on the animal spirits. . . .

"I shall suppose that it is in the nature of music to excite similar vibrations, to communicate similar movements to the nerves and spirits. For, if music owes its being to motion, and if passion cannot well be conceived to exist without it, we have a right to conclude that the agreement of music with passion can have no other origin than a coincidence of movements."

Hence the author comes to the conclusion that

"When musical sounds produce in us the same sensations which accompany the impressions of any one particular passion, then the music is said to be in unison with that passion; and the mind must, from a similitude in their effects, have a lively feeling of an affinity in their operations."

On the basis of this reasoning, Webb establishes the following points regarding the effects of music on the human mind: —

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"That, in music, we are *transported* by sudden transitions, by an impetuous reiteration of impressions.

"That we are delighted by a placid sensation of lengthened tones, which dwell on the same, and insinuate themselves into our utmost feelings.

"That a growth or climax in sounds *exalts* and *dilates* the spirits, and is therefore a constant source of the *sublime*.

"If an ascent of notes be in accord with the sublime, then their descent must be in unison with these passions which depress the spirits."

In order to establish a correspondence between musical impressions and the passions, Webb admits that the following four classes will cover the ground:—

"If they agitate the nerves with violence, the spirits are hurried into the movements of anger, courage, indignation, and the like.

"The more gentle and placid vibrations shall be in unison with love, friendship, and benevolence."

"If the spirits are exalted and dilated, they raise into accord with pride, glory, and emulation.

"If the nerves are relaxed, the spirits subside into the languid movements of sorrow."

On the theory of this classification our author finds it evident,—

"That music cannot, of itself, specify any particular passion, since the movements of every class must be in accord with all the passions of that class."

And, speaking of the effect of absolute music, he finds that

"On hearing an overture by Jomelli, or a concerto by Geminiani, we are, in turn, transported, exalted, delighted: the impetuous, the sublime, the tender, take possession of the sense at the will of the composer. In these moments, it must be confessed, we have no determinate idea of any agreement or imitation; and

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the reason of this is, that we have no fixed idea of the passion to which this agreement is to be referred."

Here is a critical statement which forms the basis of the views of many of our best æstheticians, in whose estimation music expresses or affects emotion in a general sense, but no particular sentiment or feeling. In order to fix such definite passion, the musician needs the help of words in order to throw sufficient light into the undecided shadows of merely emotional impressions. Thus Webb, in his way, says, —

"But let eloquence co-operate with music, and specify the motive of each particular impression, while we feel an agreement in the sound and motion with the sentiment: song takes possession of the soul, and general impressions become specific indications of the manners and passions."

After his investigation of the different "passions," and their relation to each other, Webb reaches the same results as Avison; namely, that music can have no connection with those passions which are painful by their nature, neither can it unite with our other passions when they become painful by their excess. Hence our author concludes that the effect of music upon our nature is a *moral one.*

"The movements of music being in a continued opposition to all those impressions which tend either to disorder or disgrace our nature, may we not reasonably presume that they were destined to act in aid of the moral sense, to regulate the measures and proportions of our affections, and, by counteracting the passions in their extremes, to render them the instruments of virtue, and the embellishments of character?"

Our author, considering music, in certain instances, as an imitative art, gives the following explanation in the interest of his theory: —

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"Music becomes imitative, when it so proportions the enforcement or diminution of sound to the force or weakness of the passions, that the soul answers, as in an echo, to the just measure of the impression."

He then finds an analogy of psychological effects between the raising of one kind of passion into another, — for instance, from sorrow to pride, and *vice versa*, — and the *forte* and *piano* in music; that is to say, in the gradual swelling or decreasing of the sounds, the spirits are thrown into a similar kind of movement. I will close my review of the æsthetic theory of this intelligent writer, with the following quotation, comparing the psychological effect of the three arts: —

"It is the province of music, to catch the movements of passion as they spring from the soul; painting waits until they rise into action, or determine in character: but poetry, as she possesses the advantages of both, so she enters at will into the province of either, and her imitations embrace at once the movement and the effect."

Most writers of this epoch looked upon music as an imitative art. With this view they followed the reasonings of some old Greek authors, and especially Aristotle. In France, M. Batteux published, in 1753, "Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe," a book in which the author endeavored to prove that music, like the other arts, imitates some objects (sounds and movements) in nature. Batteux' system had a wide influence on the literary art world; and J. J. Rousseau, among others, sided with him. In his "Dictionnaire de Musique," articles "Imitation" and "Musique," he designates music as an imitative art. Batteux' and Rousseau's views were also accepted by many English literary men. Although these philosophers and writers knew very

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little of the real nature and practice of Greek music, their estimation of this art (one of the members of all the arts), as held and cultivated by the Greeks, was accepted by modern writers as an infallible authority, since the Greeks were, in other respects, such great artists. The Greek principle, regarding the nature and function of music, was so universally accepted, that a noted English writer, *James Beattie*, who, in his "An Essay on Poetry and Music as they affect the Mind" (London, 1763), did not consider music as one of the imitative arts, thought it necessary to excuse himself for setting forth such a novel view. He says, ancient music might possibly have been an imitative art; but as we know so little of the ancient practice, he is not able to judge: he is treating of modern music.

"Nor do I mean any disrespect to music, when I would strike it off the list of imitative arts. I allow it to be a fine art, and to have a great influence on the human soul; I grant, that, by its power of raising a variety of agreeable emotions in the hearer, it proves its relation to poetry, and it never appears to the best advantage but with poetry for its interpreter; and I am satisfied, that, though musical genius may subsist without poetical taste, yet these two talents united accomplish nobler effects than either could do singly.[1] I acknowledge, too, that the principles and essential rules of this art are as really founded in nature, as those of poetry and painting. But when I am asked, what part of nature is imitated in any good picture or poem, I find I can give a definite answer: whereas, when I am asked, what part of nature is imitated in Handel's 'Water-music,' for instance, or in Corelli's Eighth Concerto, or in any particular English or Scotch tune, I find I can give no definite answer, — though, no doubt, I might say some plausible things; or perhaps, after much refinement, be able to show that music may, by one shift or other, be made an imitative art, provided you allow me to give any meaning I please to the word *imitative*."

[1] R. Wagner's theory fore-shadowed.

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This last passage can be applied, with great justice, to that fantastic method of modern æsthetic musical criticism which is so repeatedly applied — and very often injuriously — to the finer æsthetic understanding of the works of our great instrumental composers, a method promoting a weak sentimentalism in lieu of true and healthy art sentiment and appreciation. Beattie justly remarks, —

"Sounds in themselves can imitate nothing directly but sounds, nor, in their motion, any thing but motion.[1] But the natural sounds and motions that music is allowed to imitate are but few. For, first, they must all be consistent with the fundamental principles of the art, and not repugnant either in melody or harmony. . . . Besides, the end of all genuine music is, to introduce into the human mind certain affections or susceptibilities of affections. Now, all the affections over which music has any power are of the agreeable kind; and therefore, in this art no imitations of natural sound or motion, but such as tend to inspire agreeable affections, ought ever to find a place."

Our author, on the strength of this theory regarding the agreeable affections over which music has any power, allows the composer to imitate, if he has any occasion to do so artistically, "the song of certain birds, the murmurs of a stream, the shouts of multitudes, the tumult of a storm, the roar of thunder, a chime of bells, — these sounds being connected with agreeable or sublime affections;" but "the crowing of cocks, the barking of dogs, the mewing of cats, the grunting of swine, the gobbling of geese, the cackling of a hen, the braying of an ass, the creaking of a saw, or the rumbling of a cart-wheel, would render the best music ridiculous. The movement of a dance may be imitated, or the stately pace of an embattled legion;

[1] See Hauslick, Das Musikalisch Schöne.

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but the hobble of a trotting-horse would be intolerable. (This latter has been done by R. Wagner, in his famous "Walkürenritt;" Mendelssohn, in his overture to "The Midsummer Night's Dream," found musical effects suggestive of the "braying of an ass.") But Beattie rightly attributes "part of the pleasure, both of melody and harmony," to the composer's art, "to the very nature of the notes that compose it." "Music is imitative when it readily puts one in mind of the thing imitated." But if an explanation is necessary, and if, after all, we find it difficult to recognize any exact similitude between the strain and the object intended to be imitated, then our author classifies it with those pictures which cannot be recognized without a label in the mouth of the agent, "This is a lion; this is a horse," etc. Beattie justly remarks here, that between imitation in music, and imitation in painting, there is an essential difference: "a bad picture is always a bad imitation of nature, and a good picture is necessarily a good imitation; but music may be exactly imitative and yet intolerably bad, or not at all imitative and yet perfectly good."

With regard to the expression of instrumental music (or music in general), Beattie follows Avison's reasonings. In vocal music, the expression is revealed by the poetry; in instrumental music, it is ambiguous. Expression, or pathos, is pronounced to be the chief quality of music.

"Imitation without expression is nothing; imitation detrimental to expression is faulty. . . . If, then, the highest excellence may be attained in instrumental music without imitation, and if even in vocal music imitation have only a secondary merit, it must follow, that the imitation of nature is not essential to this art."

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Beattie thinks that there is "some relation, at least, or analogy if not similitude, between certain musical sounds and mental affections. Soft music may be considered as analogous to gentle emotions; and loud music, if its tones are sweet and not too rapid, to sublime ones; and a quick succession of noisy notes, like those we hear from a drum, seems to have relation to hurry and impetuosity of passions." He therefore attributes to music moral effects. But he regards poetry as the most immediate and most accurate interpreter of music.

"Without this auxiliary, a piece of the best music, heard for the first time, might be said to mean something, but we should not be able to say what. It might incline the heart to sensibility; but poetry, or language, would be necessary to improve that sensibility into real emotion, by fixing the fancy upon some definite and affecting ideas."

The author, therefore, advocates simplicity in musical construction, so that the words of a song we listen to may be distinctly understood; for "from instrumental music we expect something more, and from vocal music a great deal more, than mere sweetness of sound." Beattie's book excited the deepest attention of English writers on æsthetic subjects, and called forth many warm discussions. But its influence on the cultivation of music, as one of the fine arts, was a good one. Even on the Continent, Beattie's views were commented on, and partially accepted. A French translation of the "Essay" appeared in Paris in 1796 (*An* 4, *de la République*). It contributed much towards a philosophical investigation of music as a new art, distinct from that of ancient music in its aspiration, material, and æsthetic forms.

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Although Beattie, on account of his unwillingness to separate music from poetry, could not cut himself loose from the ancient tradition which borrowed the raising of definite passions, affections, sentiments, from poetry, and attributed this to music as its *bona-fide* æsthetic function, yet he, in some other respects, marks a progress beyond his predecessors.

I will quote a passage from the Rev. *John Trydell's* "Two Essays on the Theory and Practice of Music" published in 1766 (Dublin). The author issued these essays in order to "render composition more practicable" than it was at his time among his countrymen.

"If the scarcity of Composers among us [he says] be owing to the want of knowledge of the Practice: then it may be hoped an attempt towards a regular Introduction, and clear Method in our own Language, may help to supply that defect; since the encouragement we shew to the works and performance of foreigners is evident and constant testimony how much we love and admire the Art. . . . And will it not in Reason follow that we arrive to as competent knowledge of it, as those who are the reputed Masters and Teachers."

But, this said *en passant*, the passages which concern us here are the following; some parts of which, as I shall point out, resemble the views of some recent writers. The author's reasoning regarding articulate sounds is ingenious and suggestive.

"I cannot omit in this place making an observation on musical Sounds, and the great superiority they naturally have over articulate ones in expressing the sense.

"Articulate Sounds express the Sense by Consent. It being evident, that an articulate Sound hath not naturally the least connexion with the Idea it represents; otherwise there could have been but one language.

"This arbitrary compact then, ascertaining the significancy and

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propriety of articulate Sounds, is the foundation of the diversity of Languages which have prevailed in the world. Whereas musical Sounds do of themselves, that is to say, merely by the Sound, suggest our Idea. Chiefly those of the Passions, as Desire, Aversion, Joy, Sorrow, and the like. And this they do by their acuteness or gravity; by Chromatic Notes, or half tones, which belong not to the Harmony of the Key.[1]

"These last peculiarities express the violence or abruptness of Passion when they ascend, and weakness and despondency when they fall. The changes or abatements of the Passion are discovered by the crowding of quick Notes, or by the sudden transition into Slow.

"Lastly, the flat (minor) and sharp (major) Keys have their peculiar and proper Objects. The first being expressive of very plaintive and tender Sentiment: the sharp third discerning Joy and Elevation of Mind.[2]

"Neither is there any sudden transition or movement of the Passion which cannot be transferred by Art, and copied by Musical Sounds. For the deplacing of the flat and sharp thirds out of the natural Series, by new Semitones introduced, hath this effect. All this, and much more, will be evident to any one who will consider the Sounds which the human voice expresses on the breaking out of any Passion, before words can find way." [3]

To these views regarding certain æsthetic musical qualities as expressed by one artistic Irish author, a sincere admirer and connoisseur of music, I will add a few sentences regarding musical beauty, taken from the work of a more famous Irish writer: I mean *Ed. Burke's* essay "On the Sublime and the Beautiful" (1756). Burke's "philosophical inquiry" attracted great attention on its

[1] Lussy in chap. vi., "De l'Accentuation Pathétique," of his Traité de l'Expression Musicale, develops the same ideas at great length.

[2] Pauer, Marx, Hand, Schubart (Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst), Bombet (the Lives of Haydn and Mozart, with notes by Gardiner), advocate the same theory.

[3] Dr. Fr. Hüffer, in "The Music of the Future," speaking of a Liszt song, expresses his æsthetic criticism in a manner very similar to the above passage.

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appearance, not alone in England, but also on the Continent, and excited such celebrated philosophers as Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn to further investigations. Burke's ideas regarding the beautiful in music are weak and amateurish echoes of Avison's essay, and other views popular at that time. They do not indicate any traces of original philosophical investigation on the part of Burke: he seems to have known little of musical practice, or of musical art in general.

"The eye is not the only organ of sensation by which sublime passions may be produced. Sounds have a great power in these as in most other passions. Excessive loudness alone is sufficient to overpower the soul, to suspend its action, and to fill it with terror. The noise of vast cataracts, raging storms, thunder, or artillery awakes a great and awful sensation in the mind, though we can observe no nicety or artifice in those sorts of music. The shouting of multitudes has a similar effect; and, by the sole strength of the sound, so amazes and confounds the imagination, that, in this staggering and hurry of the mind, the best-established temper can scarcely forbear being borne down, and joining in the common cry and common resolution of the crowd."

These "sorts of music," however, are not music. It is not the province, neither is it in the power, of musical art to copy or express such physical effects of unbounded nature, even if *sound* lies at the root of those natural occurrences.

"The beautiful in music [says Burke] will not bear that loudness and strength of sounds which may be used to raise other passions; nor notes which are shrill or harsh or deep: it agrees best with such as are clear, even, smooth, and weak. The second is, that great variety, and quick transitions from one measure or tone to another, are contrary to the genius of the beautiful in music. Such transitions often excite mirth, or other sudden and tumultuous passions; but not that sinking, that melting, that lan-

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guor, which is the characteristical effect of the beautiful as it regards every sense. The passion excited by beauty is in fact nearer to a species of melancholy than to jollity and mirth. The infinite variety of the affections of the soul will suggest, to a good head and skilful ear, a variety of such sounds as are fitted to raise them."

Burke's "beautiful in music" is, on the whole, a very melancholic, languid thing. No wonder that the sturdy, strong English mind did not feel attracted by such a weak, vapid art.

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CHAPTER XIV.

LORD KAMES, JOHN HAWKINS, CHARLES BURNEY, ARCHIBALD ALISON, W. CROTCH.

Of greater æsthetic importance, and pointing at the same time to more modern philosophical views, are the remarks regarding music expressed by the Scotch author, *Lord Kames*, in his "Elements of Criticism," published in 1762.[1] He says, "It must be premised, that no disagreeable combination of sounds is entitled to the name of music; for all music is resolvable into melody and harmony, which imply agreeableness in their very conception." And yet, on further thought, he admits that "sounds may be so contrived as to produce horror, and several other painful feelings, which in a tragedy, or in an opera, may be introduced with advantage to accompany the representation of a dissocial or disagreeable passion." The author, however, is disinclined to call a combination of sounds thus employed, music. As to the psychological power of music, Lord Kames claims that "it is beyond the power of music to raise a passion or a sentiment; but it is in the power of music *to raise emotions* similar to what are raised by sentiments expressed in words pronounced with propriety and grace." He terms such music "sentimental." On the basis of this our author

[1] Republished in New York in 1846.

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naturally comes to the conclusion, that, when music is wedded to words, the intimate connection of sense and sound rejects dissimilar emotions, those especially that are opposite. "Similar emotions produced by the sense and the sound go naturally into union, and at the same time are concordant or harmonious; but dissimilar emotions, forced into union by these causes intimately connected, obscure each other, and are also unpleasant by discordance." Hence music, being intended to accompany words, ought to be expressive of the sentiment that they convey.

But "as music in all its various tones ought to be agreeable, it never can be concordant with any composition in language expressing a disagreeable passion, or describing a disagreeable object: for here the emotions raised by the sense and the sound are not only dissimilar, but opposite; and such emotions, forced into union, always produce an unpleasant mixture. Music, accordingly, is a very improper companion for sentiments of malice, cruelty, envy, peevishness, or of any other dissocial passion. . . . Music associates finely with poems that tend to inspire pleasant emotions, such as cheerfulness, mirth, jollity, sympathy, joy, sympathetic pain, love, tenderness, concern, anxiety, pain of absence, hope, fear. Melancholy music is suited to slight grief; but deep grief, which refuses all consolation, rejects, for that reason, even melancholy music."

Of instrumental music our author contents himself to reason, that, "having no connection with words, it may be agreeable without relation to any sentiment. Harmony, properly so called, though delightful when in perfection, has no relation to sentiment; and we often find melody without the least tincture of it."

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Lord Kames claims that "music has a commanding influence over the mind, especially in connection with words."[1] Our author even goes as far as to say, that "music, having at command a great variety of emotions, may, like many objects of sight, be made to promote luxury and effeminacy. . . . But, with respect to its pure and refined pleasures, music goes hand in hand with gardening and architecture, her sister arts, in humanizing and polishing the mind; of which none can doubt who have felt the charms of music."

Lord Kames makes the following sensible remarks, speaking of the fitting use of music between the acts of a play. Since the audience at a play need a reasonable respite between every act, he recommends a chorus, or instrumental music, as the best means to "preserve alive the impressions made upon an audience," and also to "prepare their hearts finely for the new impressions."

"What objections [says he] can there lie against music between the acts, vocal or instrumental, adapted to the object? The music after an act should commence in the tone of the preceding passion, and be gradually varied till it accord with the tone of the passion that is to succeed in the next act. The music and the representation would both of them be gainers by this conjunction; which will thus appear. Music that accords with the present tone of mind is, on that account, doubly agreeable; and, accordingly, though music singly has *not the power to raise a passion, it tends greatly to support a passion already raised.*[2] Farther, music prepares us for the passion that follows, by making cheerful, tender, melancholy, or animated impressions, as the subject requires. . . . In this manner, music and representation support each other delightfully: the impression made upon the audience by the representation is a fine preparation for the music that succeeds, and the impression made by the music is a fine preparation for the representation that succeeds."

[1] Herbert Spencer attributes a similar power to music. [2] The Italics are my own.

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Some modern musicians and writers on music have advocated the same views, regarding appropriate music between the acts of a play; but none of these has suggested any thing more pertinent, more æsthetic, than Lord Kames. If theatrical managers knew more about music; if leaders of theatrical orchestras possessed a broader, more intelligent understanding of the ideal mission and power of their art, this vexed question regarding "appropriate music between the acts" could be easily solved on the very basis of the above old Scotch author's views.

The different opinions regarding the nature and function of music, as expressed by the foregoing authors, were, according to individual taste and conception, followed up by two meritorious English historians, *Sir John Hawkins* and *Dr. Charles Burney.*

Hawkins, in his definition of the effects of music, and the pleasure this art administers to the imaginative fancy, leans towards James Harris's views, as expressed in his treatise quoted above. Hawkins says, "Music operates upon the mind by the power of that harmony which results from the concord of sounds, and excites in the mind those ideas which correspond with our tenderest and most delightful affections." Our author finds, that "in music there is little beyond itself to which we need, or indeed can, refer to heighten its charms;" though he admits that music may excite a certain degree of charm "where imitation is intended, as in the songs of birds, or in the expression of those various inflections of the voice which accompany passion, or exclamation, weeping, laughing, and other of the human affections, the sound and the thing signified." But, on the whole, "there are few things in

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nature which music is capable of imitating; and those are of a kind so uninteresting that we may venture to pronounce, that, as its principles are founded in geometrical truth, and seem to result from some general and universal law of nature, so its excellence is intrinsic, absolute, and inherent." Hawkins, consequently, establishes his musical criticism on the basis of these principles.

Dr. Burney, in the third volume of his "General History of Music," gives an "Essay on Musical Criticism," in which he sets forth the æsthetic principles that led him in judging and appreciating different musical artworks. He says that music may be defined as the art of pleasing by a succession and combination of agreeable sounds. "There is a tranquil pleasure, short of rapture, to be acquired from music, in which intellect and sensation are equally concerned." The analysis of this pleasure is the subject of the above essay.

A true critic's qualifications must be those of "having a clear and precise idea of the constituent parts of a good composition, and of the principal excellencies of perfect execution. . . . Thus, if a complete musical composition of different movements were analyzed, it would perhaps be found to consist of some of the following ingredients: melody, harmony, modulation, invention, grandeur, fire, pathos, taste, grace, and expression; while the executive part would require neatness, accent, energy, spirit, feeling, and in a vocal performer or instrumental, where the tone depends on the player, power, clearness, sweetness, brilliancy of execution in quick movements, and touching expression in slow."

Burney's critic, examining the different styles of music, would be required to observe the following standard in judging.

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"In *church music*, whether jubilation, humility, sorrow, or contrition are to be expressed, the words will enable the critic to judge; but of the degree of dignity, gravity, force, and originality of the composition, few but professors can judge in detail, though all of the general effect.

"In hearing *dramatic music*, little attention is pointed by the audience to any thing but the airs and powers of the principal singers. And yet, if the character, passion, and importance of each personage in the piece is not distinctly marked and supported; if the airs are not contrasted with each other, and the parts of every singer in the same scene specially different in measure, compass, time, and style, — the composer is not a complete master of his profession.

"In *chamber music*, such as cantatas, single songs, solos, trios, quartets, concertos, and symphonies of few parts, the composer has less exercise for reflection and intellect and the power of pleasing in detached pieces of melody, harmony, natural modulation, and ingenuity of contrivance, fewer restraints, and fewer occasions for grand and striking effects, and expression of the passions, than in a connected composition for the church or the stage."

At the time Burney wrote this, instrumental music was yet in its infancy.

Of the nature of music, considered as the result of physiological and psychological investigation, Burney has nothing to say, except that he repeats the old received notions of its effects on the passions. "Music is a language that can accommodate its accents and tones to any human sensation and passion. . . . It is in itself an innocent art; is so far from corrupting the mind, that, with its grave and decorous strains, it can calm the passions, and render the heart more fit for spiritual and pious purposes." But this moral end will be more easily reached when music "is united with the language and the precepts of religion." The American psalm-tune teachers, who considered Burney's essay the gospel of

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musical criticism, laid great stress on this last sentence. But, in spite of their faith in the English historian's critical judgment, they entertained great doubts as to music being in itself an innocent art, and far from corrupting the mind. One of the strong points of their musical morals (not criticism) was, that music, without the purifying action of religious words united with it, is a dangerous art, and very apt to lead the soul of the harmless listener astray. They never attempted to compose absolute music.

Burney, from his æsthetic point of view, lays even greater stress on the performer's art, both vocal and instrumental, than upon that of the composer. "It was formerly more easy [he thinks] to compose than to play an *adagio*, which generally consisted of a few notes that were left to the task and abilities of the performer; but, as the composer seldom found his ideas fulfilled by the player, *adagios* are now made more chantant and interesting in themselves, and the performer is less put to the torture for embellishment." We see all along, that Burney appreciated above all the mere mechanical outside of the composer's art, which consisted in the combining of agreeable sounds to please the ear: pathos, variety of expression, and taste, the more inherent, æsthetic qualities, were to be supplied by the performer, who, it was expected, had to draw these indispensable qualities from his own soul; the composer being asked simply to furnish pleasing melodies, new, not too rich, harmonies, natural modulations, ingenious, but not too complicated contrivances, and plenty of opportunities for those indispensable florid embellishments.

Burney's principles of musical criticism served for a long while as the standard, by means of which compo-

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sitions were judged by English critics. The above-mentioned essay was even translated into German and French. It was an æsthetic code, principally based upon the rules of thorough-bass. The form of a composition was measured by the yard borrowed from the executive performer: the work had to fit his powers; otherwise it was condemned as impracticable, and devoid of true musical qualities. This shallow, one-sided, æsthetic manner of criticism is, as we shall see later on, still the *modus operandi* among American writers on music, who are not able to shake off this antiquated inheritance from the mother country.

Now let us turn to the pages of a work by a philosopher, *Archibald Alison's* "Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste," 1790. The author's theory is based on an analysis of the emotions of sublimity and beauty. Regarding the æsthetic functions of music, he starts from a consideration of the nature of simple sounds. "1. Sounds that occur in inanimate nature. 2. The notes of animals. 3. The tones of the human voice." But only those sounds which are associated with some other qualities are productive the of emotions of sublimity and beauty. Thus, —

"1. All sounds in general are *sublime* which are associated with ideas of danger: such as the howling of a storm, the murmuring of an earthquake, the report of artillery, the explosion of thunder, etc.

"2. All sounds are in general sublime which are associated with ideas of great power or might: such as the noise of a torrent, the fall of a cataract, the uproar of tempest, the explosion of gunpowder, the dashing of the waves, etc.

"3. All sounds are sublime which are associated with ideas of majesty or solemnity or deep melancholy or any other strong emotion: such as the sound of the trumpet, and all other war-

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like instruments, the note of the organ, the sound of the curfew, the tolling of the passing bell, etc."

The author then enumerates the associated sounds that are productive of emotions of *beauty;* he classifies the notes of the animals, which, according to the ferocity or gentleness of the animal, generate emotions of sublimity or beauty.

"There is a similar sublimity or beauty felt in particular notes or tones of the human voice. Such sounds are beautiful or sublime, only as they express passions or affections which excite our sympathy."

Thus the sublimity and beauty of simple sounds arise from those qualities with which they are connected, and of which they are the signs of expression; "and no sounds in themselves are fitted, by the constitution of our nature, to produce these emotions."

"*Loud sound* is connected with the idea of power and danger. . . . *Low sound* has a contrary expression, and is connected with ideas of weakness, gentleness, and delicacy. . . . *Grave sound* is connected with ideas of moderation, dignity, solemnity. . . . *Acute sound* is expressive of pain or fear or surprise. *Long* or *lengthened sound*, and *short* and *abrupt sound*, *increasing* and *decreasing sound*, impart, according to the meaning of the respective expression, additional effect to the first considered quality."

Alison next endeavors to apply these considerations to compound sound, or music.

"Sounds are capable of being united by certain laws, and of forming a whole. To such a composition of sounds, we give the name of 'music,' — an art confessedly of great power in producing emotions, both of sublimity and beauty, and the source of one of the finest and purest pleasures of which our nature is susceptible."

But Alison asserts that this pleasure music imparts is to be looked for in the idea of association, that the

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character of a composition is marked by the nature of the key, and the nature of progress.

"The key or fundamental tone of every composition, from its relation to the human voice, is naturally expressive to us of these qualities or affections of mind which are signified by such sounds. . . . The time of musical composition is also expressive of various affecting or interesting qualities. In all ages quick time, or rapid succession of sounds, has been appropriated to the expression of mirth and gayety; slow time, or a slow succession of sounds, to the expression of melancholy or sadness. All passions or affections of any intermediate nature, between these extremes, may be expressed by the different gradations of such movements."

Regarding the key or fundamental tone of a composition, Alison ascribes to every key the power of expressing related characteristic emotions. And then music, by means of the variety of related sounds, governed by the prevailing key productive of a certain emotion, acquires a greater variety of expression, independent of the imitation of the passions expressed by the human voice. Then, "musical expression is in itself superior even to the expression of language; and were the passions or affections which it can express as definite or particular as those which can be communicated by words, it may well be doubted, whether there is any composition of words which could so powerfully affect us as such a composition of sounds." Vocal music is therefore pronounced as not only "the most expressive species of composition, but the only one which affects the mind of uninstructed men."

When Alison endeavors to analyze absolute music (instrumental compositions) his theory of association, as to what it ought to express, becomes embarrassed. "A song or an air leads us always to think of the sentiment," as expressed by the accompanying words, —

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"An overture or a concerto disposes us to think of the composer. It is a work in which much invention, much judgment, and much taste may be displayed."

The composer of such a work, however, is not the only object that occupies the attention of the listener; in addition to the above qualities of an instrumental composition, there are to be considered the judgment, the taste, the expression, of the performer. Even if the expression of music is overlooked, the merits of the composer and the performer are never forgotten. Alison is of the opinion, that, whatever the criticism of a piece of music may be, even when expressed by those who are well acquainted with the principles of composition, it will be resultant of the idea of "some pleasing and interesting association."

Alison places expression in music as its highest quality. "Beauty or sublimity of music arises from the qualities which it expresses, and not from the means by which they are expressed." A true musical critic, in order to get at the root of the æsthetic qualities of a composition, will, above all, carefully examine the means employed in the interest of the structural form of such composition. Musical beauty is the result of the means at the disposal of the composer, and not that of some pleasing and interesting association. Some of our present æstheticians and musical critics are still partisans of Alison's principle of association.[1]

Our next step will again lead us to a work by a professional musician, — "Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music," by W. Crotch, Mus. D., London,

[1] Although Alison's Essays were republished in New York in 1830, I have been unable to discover, in the expressions of American musical writers of that time, whether any influence was exercised by the Scotch author.

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1831. In the chapter "On Musical Expression" the author says, regarding the function and nature of music, that, "in extolling the descriptive powers of our art, many writers have exceeded the truth by making it capable of what it really cannot achieve. . . . The union of poetry (making vocal music) has been one fruitful source of these exaggerations. Praise due to poetry alone has thus been bestowed on music. Let the poetry cease altogether, or be in an unknown tongue; and then see whether music can build the walls of a city, or civilize a savage nation. Music has been called the language of nature, but it is a very improper language: it is all adjective and no substantive. It may represent certain qualities in objects, or raise similar affections in the mind to what these objects raise; but it cannot delineate the objects themselves. It conveys no image, it cannot even discriminate very accurately between the affections it does command. It may speak of something serene, joyous, wild, tender, grave, melancholy, troubled, agitated, or pathetic; but, without poetry lends her aid, we remain ignorant of what that thing may be."

The author, in illustration of the above opinion, analyzes some of the material the composer employs in the forming of his work. He says, —

"Pain and pleasure are awakened by the use of minor and major keys, of their appropriate concords and discords, and of the chromatic and diatonic scale. The major key, resting mainly upon major triads, is more a part of nature than the minor key, which is therefore less agreeable: its minor third seems, like the string which sounds it, to have been relaxed and depressed from the more agreeable and natural major third. The chromatic scale, composed of semitones, and abounding in discords containing minor and extreme flat and sharp intervals, approaches nearer the

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cries and howlings of men or animals in distress, to the whistling of the wind, and to other confused and indistinct noises, than the diatonic scale, which contains fewer semitones and farther apart. The major key, when unincumbered with chromatic passages, is a great source of calm satisfaction to the mind: it causes serenity."

He thinks, however, that "much also depends upon the manner of performing any passage.

"Clearness of harmony likewise conduces to serenity: the attention is less fatigued than by what is complicated and unintelligible. Symmetrical rhythm, in moderate time, also conduces to the same effect. By increasing the velocity, joy and delight are kindled. Long, accented notes, with short, unaccented ones following, convey the idea of firmness and majesty. Very slow notes belong to sublimity, and very rapid ones to ornament. Broken and varied measure is properly used for indecision. . . . The poignancy of grief in the minor mode is much increased by the agitated rhythm, rendering that confused, or mysteriously grand, which in the uniform measure would only have been melancholy."

Though this seems to be the natural reason for using the major and minor keys, in order to portray psychological events, yet the author is compelled to own that these keys are not always thus employed. The experience gained from the study of the works of the great masters proves that in their larger compositions they often set words in the minor key that seem to require the major key, and *vice versa*. They were, no doubt, led to this for the sake of the needful contrast. A number of successive pieces in one mode would have proved fatiguing. The composer used his tone-material in the sense the painter uses his colors, to produce symmetry, harmony, and variety of contrasts; though, in some cases, tone-forms may be employed as symbols of occurrences in nature. Such is that passage in Haydn's "Creation," which intends to portray the sudden appearance of the sun.

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"Light, created suddenly, or gradually increasing, though only perceptible by the sight, may be expressed in music, or, more correctly, the suddenness or graduation of some sort of increase; for light cannot be represented, much less the sun."

Dr. Crotch does not approve of those imitations, even when indulged in by eminent composers, such as frogs leaping, arrows flying, a rainbow, a lamp in a high tower, the depths of the sea, the flight of an eagle, great whales, crawling worms, tigers howling, the paces of the stag and horse, flakes of snow, forked lightning, a dog running over the fields, etc. In these cases he finds that the composer has exceeded the true limits of musical expression. However, the author concedes that another species of musical imitation is occasionally used with great success, — "the imitation of sounds, whether those are unmusical, as the thunder, cannon, birds, the roar or murmur of waters, the cries of distress or pain, the whistling of wind; or those which are musical, as the tolling or ringing of bells." But he does not accept the idea of association which some writers attach to the tone of certain instruments, finding the flute and oboe to convey the impression of pastoral life; the trumpet, military; the organ, the church. The character of these three styles — the pastoral, the military, and sacred — depends as much on the nature (form) of the music as on that of the instrument.

"Musical expression is, then, more limited in its powers than is perhaps generally imagined. Music cannot, like painting, seize on a particular action, and represent, with minuteness, all its parts. Like poetry, her imitation is very inferior to painting. Without the aid of music, poetry is necessarily forced to waste many of her richest ideas in attempting to raise the affections; which, when united to music, she finds raised already. Without the aid of

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poetry, music can awaken the affections by her magic influence, producing at her will, and that instantly, serenity, complacency, pleasure, delight, ecstasy, melancholy, woe, pain, terror, and distraction. And when poetry would speak of the thunder-storm, the battle, the howl of pain, the warbling of birds, the roar of the winds or waves, the breath of zephyr or the murmuring stream, the solemn curfew or the merry peal of bells, music can by her imitations increase, almost infinitely, the enjoyment of the description."

These are the views of a thoroughly educated, practical musician, who, being well acquainted with the master-works of all ages up to his time, was not induced, by a sentimental fear that he might jeopardize the position of music as an art, to assign his art powers she has not the adequate means of clearly expressing. The ideal functions of absolute music and accompanied music, vocal music, are critically considered with the help of personal experience and practice.

Dr. Crotch, in order to classify the different shades of musical taste dictated by the divers manners in which the emotions are affected, and operate upon the mind, accepts three styles, — "the *sublime*, the *beautiful*, and the *ornamental*." He says, in vindication of this theory, that there are in music, as in the other arts, certain styles which are more or less valuable in proportion to the mental labor employed in their formation. He is, especially in his æsthetic reasoning regarding the different styles, under the influence of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The three styles are sometimes found distinct, though seldom so, and sometimes combined. In the practice of art, two, or even all three, are often blended for higher æsthetic, artistic purposes; and thus are formed subordinate styles, expressing the most different shades of emotional life. Dr. Crotch, in order to practically

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illustrate his theory, analyzes the works of all schools, the purely national, the folk-songs, as well as the productions of the masters of composition. This is the only true way to throw light on the difficult subject.

Here I close my review of the interesting subject treated in the preceding three chapters. The temptation was great to incorporate with this portion of my book the highly suggestive views regarding the origin and function of music, as expressed by those great thinkers, *Herbert Spencer* and *Darwin;* and also the results of *James Sully's* excellent æsthetic investigations, partly based on the above-mentioned philosophers' ideas, and partly on those of eminent modern German æstheticians and physicists. But this would have drawn me too far away from my original plan; viz., to consider the works of those writers on music who exercised a decided influence on the former development of English musical criticism.

All those authors mentioned in the preceding chapters have, in general, only investigated a small portion of musical art, — the nature of music, and its moral effect upon the listener. They have all seemed to accept as a fact, that music, being the vehicle of the expression of the inner life of man, ought to present to the hearer something more than merely cleverly arranged musical forms. But, by ignoring the æsthetic laws that govern the different forms, — they seldom make mention of structural forms, — their reasonings fell short of the proposed end, and remained embedded in a one-sided theory, inadequate to do justice to the subject. By the sole help of metaphysical analysis, they endeavored to throw light on a complex art: they overlooked the purely æsthetic side of musical forms, and

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in many instances overrated the moral side or effect. They all admitted, with more or less confidence, a spiritual or ethical force lying above or beyond structural forms. To generalize and classify these forms was not thought of by these English writers: this method of judging the æsthetic qualities of a musical art-work is, however, a modern one, and became of more general importance when musical æsthetics began to form a branch of general art philosophy. But the existence of the science of musical æsthetics is of so recent a date that many points in its formation are still in a somewhat chaotic state. This new science is mostly due to German philosophical investigation and thought.

All the above-mentioned English writers' remarks regarding the nature of music have originated with English methods of criticism and considerations of taste, principally based on the old Greek writers. Observe, therefore, the long struggle experienced by those writers in order to get rid of the Greek theory, which considered music as an imitative art.

It, however, must be placed to the credit of these old English writers on "taste," that they were so broad minded as to incorporate the consideration of music into their writings at all, long before German philosophers took the trouble of giving any thought to the *raison d'être* of music as an art; and many of their remarks have not yet lost their justness of meaning and fundamental truth. Their labors have been, in many directions, fruitful in suggesting further reasoning and new thoughts. Some of those writers, such as Beattie, had the good sense to rank music among the fine arts, at a time when the majority of Englishmen still looked upon it as a mere pastime to while away

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an idle hour. The earnest considerations the above writers devoted to music had also the result of raising the art in the estimation of their countrymen.

German music has, in our days, almost completely superseded Italian music in London. German æsthetic views and criticism are assuming great importance in the English journals that devote some space to musical affairs. The works of prominent German writers on musical biography, history, and æsthetics are translated and published in London. English musicians are receiving more earnest encouragement, and exhibit great activity and serious efforts, with regard to a higher art-standard. We may expect that a new English school of music will, to all appearance, finally emerge from our present transition period.

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MUSICAL EXAMPLES.

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MUSICAL EXAMPLES.

I

ENGLISH DANCE TUNE.

FROM THE EARLY PART OF THE 14TH CENTURY.

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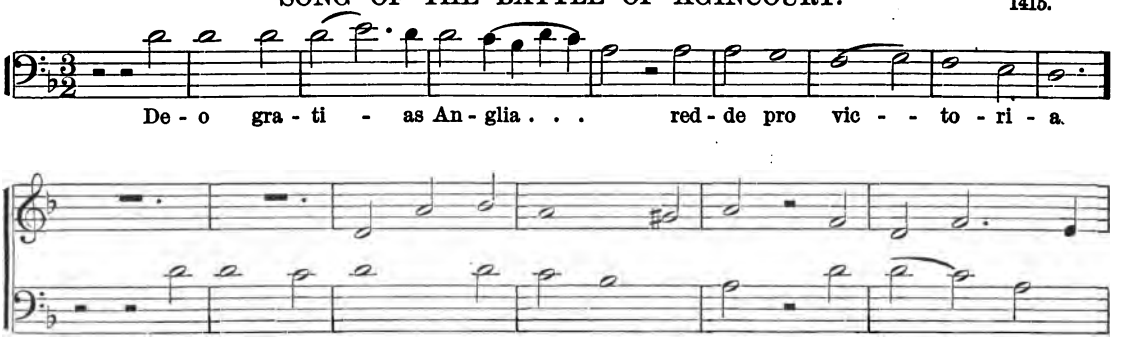
II

SONG OF THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT. 1415.



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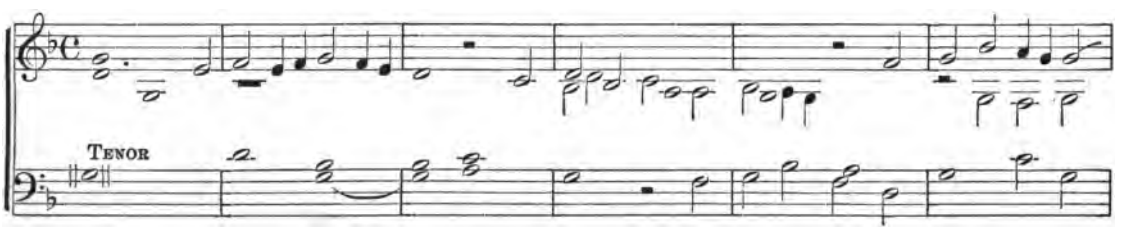
III

O ROSA BELLA.

MELODY IN THE TENOR. JOHN DUNSTABLE.



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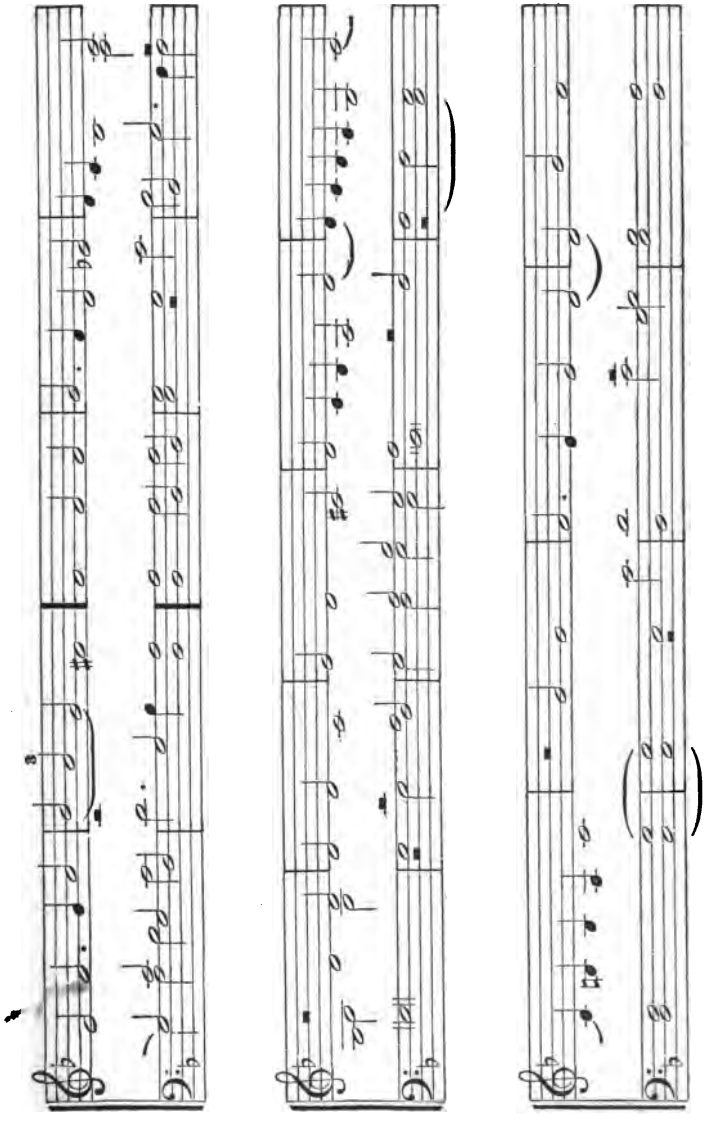

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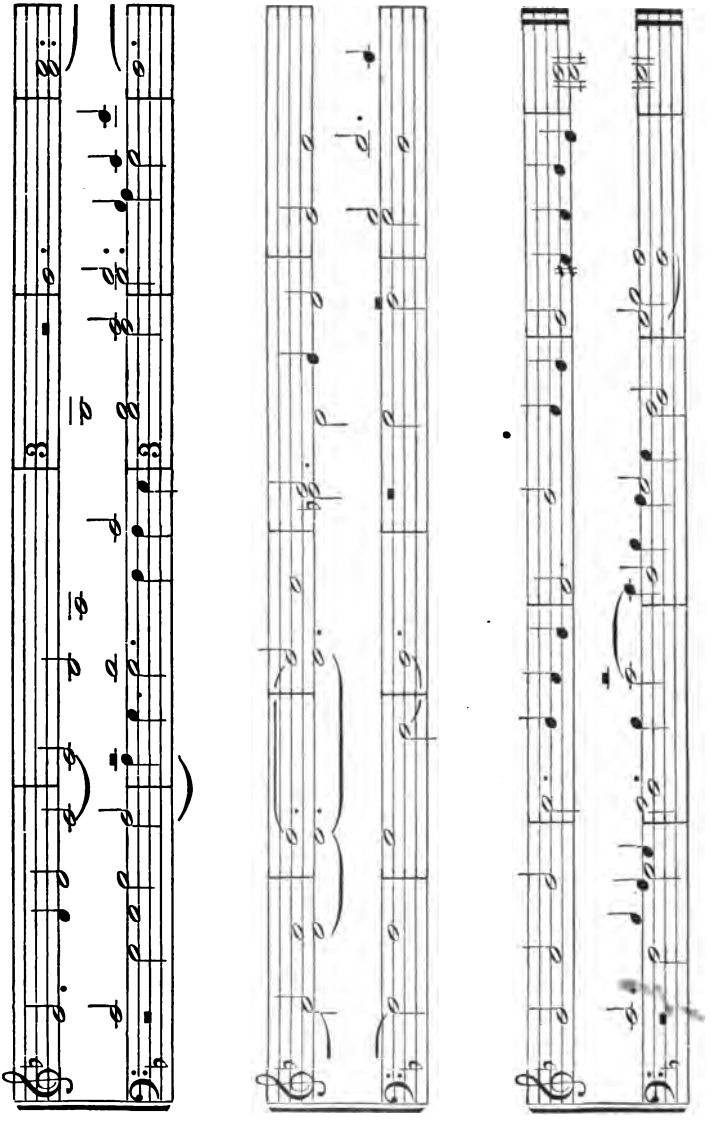

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IV

OLD CATHOLIC HYMN.

In the Eight Church Mode. **Hipomixolydian.**

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V

LUTHER'S HYMN.

"Ein Veste Burg." Harmony by Lucas Osiander, 1580.

Ein ve-ste Burg ist un - ser Gott ein gu - te Wehr und Waf - fen,
Er hilft uns frei aus all - ler Noth, Die uns jetzt hat be - trof - fen,
Der alt bö se Feind
mit ernst es jetzt meint, gross acht und viel List sein graus- am Rüstung ist, auf Erd ist nicht seins Glei - chen.

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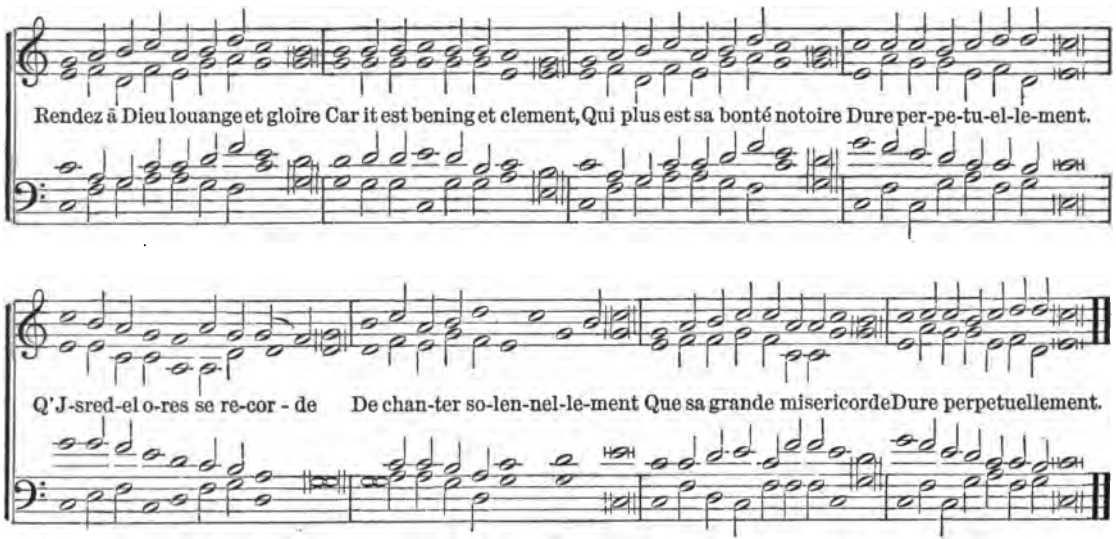
VI

PSALM CXVIII.

MELODY IN THE TENOR. MELODY AND HARMONY BY LOUIS BOURGEOIS, 1547.


Rendez à Dieu louange et gloire Car il est bening et clement, Qui plus est sa bonté notoire Dure per-pe-tu-el-le-ment.
Q'J-sred-el o-res se re-cor - de De chan-ter so-len-nel-le-ment Que sa grande misericorde Dure perpetuellement.

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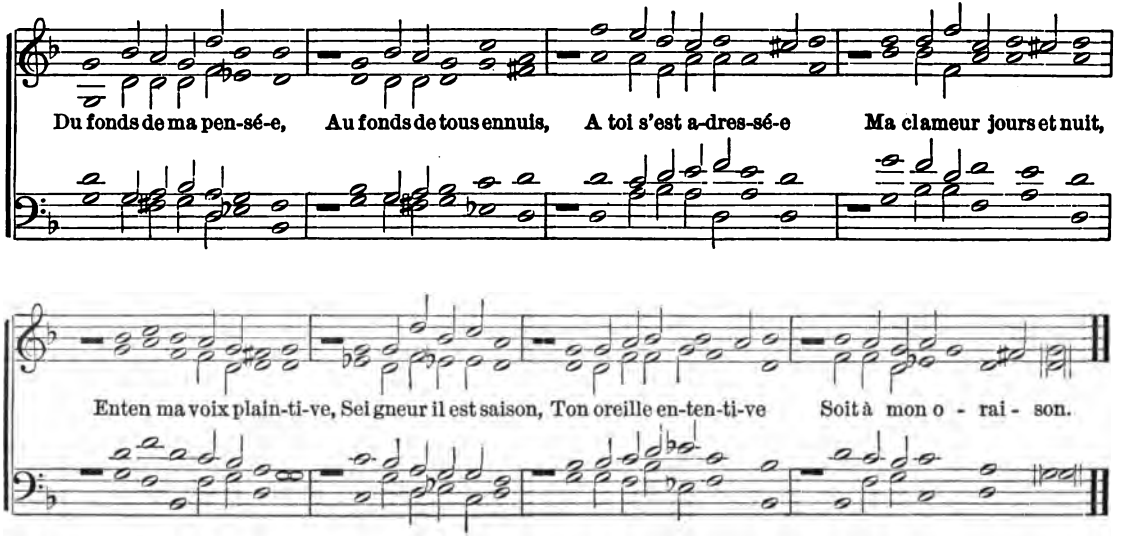
VII

PSALM CXXX.

MELODY IN THE TENOR. MEDODY BY BOURGEOIS, HARMONY BY C. GOUDIMEL.


Du fonds de ma pen-sé-e, Au fonds de tous ennuis, A toi s'est a-dres-sé-e Ma clameur jours et nuit,
Enten ma voix plain-ti-ve, Sei gneur il est saison, Ton oreille en-ten-ti-ve Soit à mon o - rai - son.

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VIII

PSALM XXV.

MELODY IN THE TENOR. MELODY BY L. BOURGEOIS, HARMONY BY CLAUDIN LEJEUNE.

A toy, mon Dieu, mon cœur monte, En toy mon es poir ay mis. Hon - te n'auront voire-ment
Fay que je ne tombe en hon-te, Au gré de mes en - ne - mis;
Ceux qui dessus toy s'appuyent, Mais bien ceux qui durement Et sans cau - se les en - nuy - ent.

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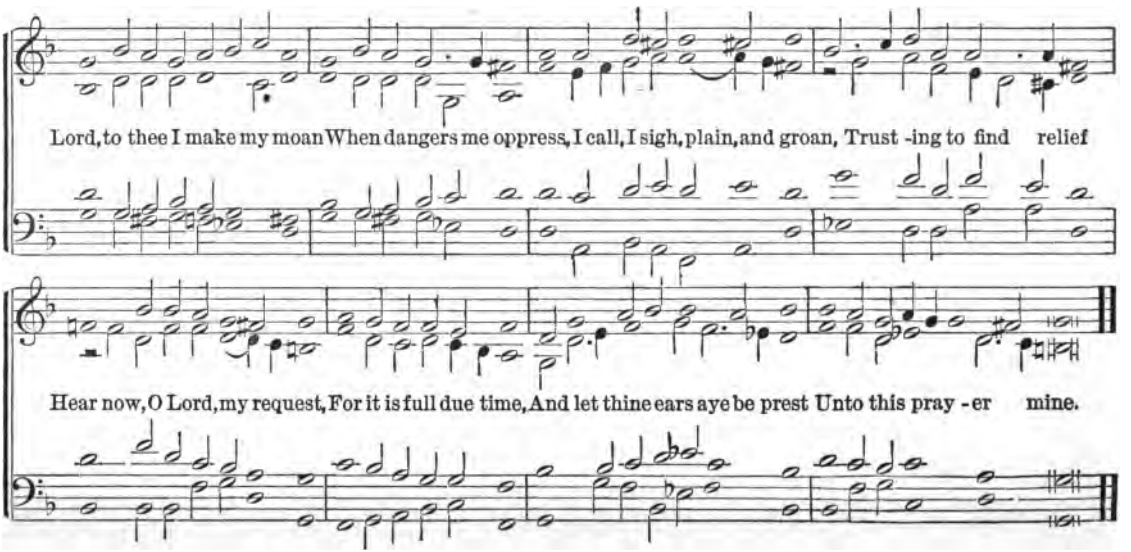
IX

PSALM CXXX.

FROM TH. ESTE'S PSALTER.
MELODY IN THE TENOR.

MELODY BY L. BOURGEOIS, HARMONY BY T. DOWLAND.


Lord, to thee I make my moan When dangers me oppress, I call, I sigh, plain, and groan, Trust -ing to find relief
Hear now, O Lord, my request, For it is full due time, And let thine ears aye be prest Unto this pray -er mine.

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X

PSALM CXXX.

MELODY IN THE TENOR. HARMONY BY TH. RAVENSCROFT.

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XI

PSALM CXXX.

MELODY IN THE SOPRANO. HARMONY BY T. PLAYFORD.

REMARK.—The notes marked † in the above English version of the tune (see Ravenscoft's setting) are not sharped in Bourgeois' original melody to the 130th Psalm; and in the last sentence of Playford's setting is altered, this renders the close somewhat common place.

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